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Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae

The occasional Offices of the Church of England according to the old use of Salisbury the Prymer in English and other prayers and forms with dissertations and notes

BY

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CHAPTER I.

THE consecration of sovereigns by the ministers of religion reaches to an antiquity higher than the Christian æra: but I need not enter here into the history of the unction and coronation of the ancient Jewish kings. The accounts which we have in the sacred Scriptures will readily occur to the recollection of the reader;[1] and if he would enquire further, there are many writers who, having investigated that part of the subject, will afford him very full information upon it.[2]

St. Augustine has declared that the anointing of kings was a rite always peculiar to the people of God: and not adopted at any time by the heathens. "Unctus est" he says "Deus a Deo: unctum audis, Christum intellige: etenim Christus a chrismate. Hoc nomen quod appellatur Christus, unctionis est: nec in aliquo alibi ungebantur reges et sacerdotes, nisi in illo regno, ubi Christus prophetabatur et ungebatur, et unde venturum erat Christi nomen:

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[1] Also the remarkable parable told by Jotham in the ninth chapter of the book of Judges; and the speech given to the bramble.

[2] Besides the authors more usually referred to, the student will do well to consult the 8th ch. § 1. of Selden's *Titles of honour*, and the third book of Scacchus, *Sacrorum elæochrismatωn myrothecia.*

nusquam alibi omnino, in nulla gente, in nullo regno."[3]

We know not who was the first Christian prince, either anointed or crowned by the bishops of the Church. Theodosius the younger is supposed to have been the first who was crowned by the patriarch of Constantinople; and Habertus acknowledges that he cannot find any authority for such a solemnization before the time of that prince: A. D. 408. "Nemo mihi a patriarcha coronatus legitur ante Theodosium jun. de quo Theodorus Lector, lib. 2. ὁ νέος Θεοδόσιος στεφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πρόκλου πατριάρχου."[4] Shortly after the death of that emperor there appears to be little reason to question the fact in the case of the emperor Justin: concerning whom Baronius quotes an epistle from John, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 519: "Ideo coronam gratiæ super eum cœlitus declinavit, ut affluenter in sacrum caput ejus misericordia funderetur: omnique annuntiationis ejus tempore cum magna voce Deum omnium Principem glorificaverunt, quoniam talem verticem manibus meis tali corona decoravit."[5]

But before the date of Justin we have the famous history of Clovis in the west, concerning whom it has been asserted that he was both crowned and anointed.[6] And more than this: that the sacred

[3] *Enarrat.* cit. Habert. *Pontif. Græc.* p. 626.

[4] *Pontif. Græc.* p. 627.

[5] *Annal.* an. 519. Compare the account of the second coronation of the same emperor by pope John I. in the *Liber pontif.* tom. 1. p. 192.

[6] For there seems to be no evidence that in the earliest coronations of the Greek emperors unction formed a part of the solemnity. It has been supposed so: but the proof appears to rest upon an expression of Onuphrius, cited by Selden: "Constantinopoli, vel sub Justiniano, vel post ejus statim

oil was brought down by an angel from heaven, for that purpose. The story however would prove too much and, as a result which may rather have been anticipated, the enquiry which has been made into the truth of the miracle has cast more than doubt upon even the coronation of Clovis. For the evidence in proof of the miraculous oil must be set down as worthless: the best authors of the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, men who, one or the other, would have undoubtedly spoken of it if it had been true say not a word upon the matter: and, until at last the legend of its source begins to be heard of, the oil is mentioned in connexion, not with the coronation but, with the baptism of Clovis.[7]

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obitum, electioni imperatoris additum, ut quum primum imperator renuntiatus esset, a patriarcha Constantinopolitano in magna Byzantii basilica oleo unctus diademate aureo redimeretur." *De comitiis imperatoriis*, cap. 2.

[7] The whole legend of the coronation of Clovis may be probably attributed to a perverted tradition of his baptism and confirmation: in the same way as it has been asserted that our king Alfred was anointed king at Rome by Leo IV. In which latter case we have very considerable authority: viz. his contemporary Asser, Malmesbury, Hoveden, and others. But still it must be referred to his confirmation, which they relate did also take place: for it is scarcely credible that he should so long beforehand as a child, with two elder brothers and in his father's life-time, be anointed for a king. See Selden, *Titles of honour*, p. 115, and the authors cited by him.

"Ther was an holy bysshop that tornede colues [Clovis] the kynge of fraunce to crysten feythe, and whan the kynge was come to be crystenyde, at the fonte hawlynge [hallowing] was so grete prese that the bysshops clerke, the whiche bare his crismatorye, myght in no waye brynge it to the bysshop. Than whan the fonte was halowede ande he was come to the anoyntynge wyth creme and oyle he myght not come thereto. He lefte up his eyen to god prayenge hym deuoutly of helpe. Thenne therwyth came flyeng doun a douue [dove] as whyt as mylke, and

The writers of those ages immediately succeeding the supposed miracle speak frequently of the chrism with which Clovis was anointed, and call it "holy" or "sacred chrism:" but this, in the same sense in which they would have spoken of all chrism, and not as having been in any way miraculously provided. Thus, to quote one of them and almost a contemporary: "Rex omnipotentem Dominum in Trinitate confessus, baptizatus est a sancto Remigio, in nomine Patris, etc. . . . et sacro chrismate delibutus cum signaculo crucis."[8]

But towards the end of the ninth century, nearly four hundred years after the baptism of Clovis, an archbishop of Rheims, Hincmar, claimed for the holy oil the honour of having been miraculously sent down from heaven. I place his account in the note below:[9] and extract here from his capitular the

that was the holy ghoost, beryng in her bylle a vyole ful of creme to the bysshop, and whan he openyd the vyole there out came so swete a smelle that al the peple had grete wonder therof, and were gretely comfortide thereby." *Liber festivalis; vigil of Pentecost.* I take the account from the edition by Caxton, in 1483. Other editions of the festival give a different sermon and "narrations." (See note 9.)

[8] Rorico monachus, *in Chronico*, lib. 2.

[9] Hincmar, *In vita S. Remigii.* "Cum vero pervenissent ad baptisterium, clericus, qui chrisma ferebat, a populo est interceptus, ut ad fontem venire nequiverit. Sanctificato autem fonte, nutu divino chrisma defuit. Et quia propter populi pressuram ulli non patebat egressus vel ingressus ecclesiæ, sanctus pontifex, oculis ac manibus protensis in cœlum, cœpit tacite orare cum lacrymis. Et ecce subito columba nive candidior attulit in rostro ampullulam chrismate sancto repletam, cujus odore mirifico super omnes odores, quos ante in baptisterio senserant, omnes qui aderant inæstimabili suavitate repleti sunt. Accipiente autem sancto pontifice ipsam ampullulam, species columbæ disparuit. De quo chrismate fudit venerandus episcopus in fontem sacratum. Viso autem rex tanto miraculo, abnegatis diaboli pompis et operibus ejus, petiit se a

assertion, also first made by him, that Clovis was anointed with this oil to be emperor; he is speaking of Charles the bald. "Sanctæ memoriæ pater suus Hludowicus pius, imperator augustus, ex progenie Hludowici (*Clodoveum intelligit*) regis Francorum inclyti, per beati Remigii Francorum apostoli catholicam prædicationem cum integra gente conversi, et cum tribus Francorum millibus vigilia sancti paschæ in Remensi metropoli baptizati, et cœlitus sumpto chrismate, unde adhuc habemus, peruncti, et in regem sacrati, exhortus," etc.

Now, not only should we naturally look with some suspicion upon a history of an event, whether miraculous or not, so long after its supposed occurrence, but with that suspicion increased if it came from a quarter likely to be personally interested in the matter. Hincmar was archbishop of Rheims: and sixteen archbishops had occupied that see between St. Remigius and himself, concerning not one of whom can it be proved that he had ever heard of such a miracle. More than this: the account which Hincmar gives us is full of errors; he says that Clovis was baptized in the metropolitan church; a contemporary of the king, Nicetius bishop of Treves, declares that it took place in the church of St. Martin:[10]—and again, that it was on the vigil of Easter day; but another contemporary Avitus, bishop of Vienne, declares that it was upon Christmas eve.

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sancto pontifice baptizari, &c. Et susceptus ab ipso pontifice de sacro fonte, perunctus est sacro chrismate, cum signo sanctæ crucis Domini nostri Jesu Christi." *Apud Surium*, 13 Januarii.

[10] *Epist. ad Clodoswindam*, cit. Chifletio, *De ampulla Remensi nova disquisitio*. A learned treatise; in which the writer points out other errors in the archbishop's story which are scarcely required to satisfy the reader, and I have omitted them.

So that, as the supposed history of the oil used at the coronation of the kings of France (that it was first provided from heaven for Clovis, and afterwards no less miraculously preserved, without wasting, at Rheims) rests upon no better or earlier authority than that of Hincmar in the ninth century who was ignorant of the facts of the case, we must conclude that the whole is a mere story, unworthy of the least credit. Nor should I have delayed to examine it, even so shortly, had it not been for the general acceptance with which it has been received, and the attempts by some to prove that on account of this miraculous oil the French kings have a precedence over other sovereigns.

There appears to be sufficient evidence that the rite of anointing can be traced higher with respect to the kings and princes of England, than of any other country. And I do not see how it could be disproved, if one was inclined to assert that the ceremony took its origin from our own forefathers; and was from them adopted into the ceremonial of other churches. For not only are the coronation of Clovis and his unction with any oil, though not miraculous, incapable of being substantiated, but it has been confessed by very learned writers that Pepin, in the eighth century, was the first French king who was anointed. Thus, Selden says; "the first testimony that is worthy of credit for any unction of their kings, is that which the stories have of king Pepin. So say Regino, Sigebert, Siffridus, and enough others of the antients."[11] And Chifletius: "Pipinus omnium Franciæ regum primus.

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[11] *Titles of honour*, p. 113.

imitatus Judæorum reges, ut se sacra unctione venerabiliorem augustioremque faceret, semel atque iterum ungi voluerit."[12]

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[12] P. 30, citing *Fauchetus in Pipino*. Pepin more probably imitated the already fixed custom of the Anglo-saxon church.

I extract also the following from Martene whose judgment, learning, and candour upon every question which he has investigated are equally to be praised: "Longe tardius in Galliis reges solemnem episcoporum benedictionem suscepisse videntur, quippe ante Pippinum qui Suessione a Moguntino archiepiscopo Bonifacio unctus est in regem, nullus ab episcopis benedictus legitur: sed omnes ut regni imperium adepti erant, a populis clypeo evecti, reges constituebantur. Observat Mabillonius, post Valesium, solitos tum fuisse Francorum optimates ad constituendum regem convenisse, singulosque in electi verba jurasse, traditaque in manum hasta pro sceptro, excelso in solio honorifice imposuisse." *De ant. ecc. rit.* tom. 2. p. 213.

D'Achery, in the *Spicilegium*, has printed an ancient treatise upon the office and duties of kings addressed to Pepin by Jonas, bishop of Orleans at that time. It is entitled "Opusculum de institutione regia." Tom. 1. p. 327. In the same collection is another treatise of a like kind, written by Smaragdus an abbot, in the viijth century: the "Via regia." *Ibid.* p. 238. Both these deserve the attention of the student.

About the same time, in England, A.D. 785, the famous council of Chalcuith devoted two canons to the exposition of the duties incumbent upon kings: viz. the xith "De officio regum," and the xijth "De ordinatione et honore regum." *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 148.

There is a book which has obtained, most unworthily, the credit of a considerable reputation; namely, a history of the ceremonies of French coronations by "Monsieur Menin, counsellor to the parliament of Metz." 8vo. 1727. I regret to have seen it mentioned without condemnation by so respectable an author as Mr. Taylor in the preface to his *Glory of Regality*: a work which exhibits some amount of enquiry. However, this M. Menin sums up his history in these words: and I need scarcely explain to the reader that he has expressed his belief in the miraculous oil of Clovis. "The kings of France have not only the happiness of being the first converts to the Christian faith, but they have likewise the advantage to derive only from God himself

But before the coronation of Pepin the pontifical of archbishop Egbert, A.D. 737, was the service-book of at least that part of England over which he was placed, and the rite of unction, as the reader will see below, is especially ordered by it to form a part of the solemnity of a coronation. Long before even that time, during the existence of the earlier British church, we have this testimony in Gildas: "ungebantur reges, et non per Deum, sed qui cæteris crudeliores exstarent; et paulo post ab unctoribus, non pro veri examinatione, trucidabantur, aliis electis trucioribus."[13]

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the institution of the ceremony of their anointing, which has been conveyed down to other Christian princes, many ages after, from their pattern." P. 201.

I cannot conclude this note, without extracting upon the subject of it, important as it is, the opinion of the learned ritualist, Catalani: and I the rather do so, as the reader's attention will be drawn by the passage to another case, upon which I do not think it necessary to enter further; I mean, the benediction of Aidan by St. Columba. Catalani says: "Certe Edmundus Martenius, ubi agit de solemni regum benedictione, floccipendens fabulosam Clodovei unctionem, ingenue fatetur, antiquissimam omnium benedictionem regum, quas inter legendum ipsi reperire licuit, eam fuisse, quæ a Columba facta est jussu angeli in Aidanum Scotorum regem, cujus meminit Cumeneus Albus in vita S. Columbæ. Sed ea supponit quidem hunc ritum jam usu receptum; nam ait, angelum Domini ad dictum abbatem missum, 'qui in manu vitreum ordinationis regum habebat librum.' [See the next page, note 19.] Quæ verba plane innuunt, jam antea reges ordinatos fuisse." The sentence from Martene which I have given above is then quoted, and Catalani continues: "Id ipsum tradit alius scriptor Gallus Franciscus Pagius in vita S. Zachariæ papæ, ubi ita scribit: 'Et quidem Pippinus videtur esse primus ex Francorum regibus, qui unctus est in regem.' Ex quorum testimonio facile confutantur ii Galliæ scriptores, qui contendunt, primos fuisse Galliæ reges, qui rite ab episcopo consecrarentur, ad eorumque exemplum cæteros reges sacro oleo ungi cœpisse." *Comment. in pontif. Rom.* tom. 1. p. 384.

[13] *Hist.* § 21.

This place in Gildas is certainly (as Selden urges) not open to any objection which might be brought, from the use of a phrase of later acceptation and meaning than the fact related: as in the relation by Malmesbury of the coronation of Egferth, in the year 785, the first of which any account has come down to us. Malmesbury writes after unction had become a settled part of the solemnity: and says, speaking of Offa the father of Egferth; "dulci vitam consumpsit otio, et Egfertum filium ante mortem suam, in regem inunctum, successorem dimisit."[14] Even as regards this expression as used by the later author an argument of great weight in favour of the strict interpretation is the fact that the Saxon chronicle employs the same phrase: and declares that Egferth was "hallowed to king:" "⁊ Ecȝferð to cẏninȝe ȝehalȝod."[15] This is the earliest coronation alluded to in that chronicle; in other instances the accession only is mentioned; and I do not see any reason why we should not conclude that unction in its proper sense, as already ordered by the pontifical of Egbert, formed one of the solemn rites of the first known English coronation.[16]

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[14] *De gest. reg. Angliæ*, lib. 1, cap. 5.

[15] Cit. Stubbs' *Councils*, vol. 3. p. 444. Florence of Worcester notices the same event in similar words: "Et Egferthus, ejusdem regis natus, rex est consecratus." Sub an. 785.

[16] "St. Columba possessed a volume containing the prayers and ceremonial for the consecration and coronation of kings, which, perhaps on account of its beautiful binding, was called the 'book of glass.'" See Mr. Warren's *Liturgy of the Celtic church*, p. 19: quoting from Adamnan's life of the saint, "vitreum ordinationis regum librum." Probably the cover was decorated with some of the famous Irish enamels set in gold.

St. Columba lived in the sixth

Having thus spoken somewhat of unction as connected with the records, real or pretended, of the most ancient coronations, it will be as well to collect here some more observations bearing upon that important part of the solemnity.

We have a very remarkable proof of the light in which the anointing of kings was regarded in the thirteenth century (as explained and insisted on by the highest ecclesiastical authority recognised in this country) in a letter from pope John XXII. to Robert Bruce, king of Scotland. After speaking of some of the duties incumbent upon kings, he thus proceeds: ". . . ad quæ utique perfectius exercenda, iidem reges unctionis sacræ virtute, quam per venerabiles Dei ministros antiquo more suscipiunt, donum gratiæ recipiunt potioris, ut et in prosecutione justi regiminis fortius convalescant, et tam in se quam in eorum subditos prudentiori et sanctiori spiritu dirigantur. Vehemens namque est in iisdem regibus hujusmodi efficacia unctionis. Nam inuncto Saule, insiliit Spiritus Domini super eum, et in virum alterum est mutatus; et in David, unctione suscepta, Spiritus Domini est directus: ad insinuandum quoque quod in regibus esse debeat plenitudo virtutum, et integra dominii temporalis auctoritas."[17]

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century: and even putting the date lower, down to the time of Adamnan, the existence of such a volume carries back the date of a coronation service to a very remote antiquity indeed. I am not, however, prepared to dispute the possibility of it.

[17] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 2. p. 555. The same bull speaks also of the crown: "Capiti principis sub circulari forma honorabile imponitur diadema, ut ab eo, qui talibus fuerit decoratus insigniis, et titulis præsignitus, tanquam a capite, subditis, velut membris, recte vivendi modus et modestiæ regula indicatur." I must add that this bull is not the composition of John XXII,

Before this time archbishop Thomas Becket had written to king Henry the second to this effect: "Inunguntur reges in capite, etiam pectore et brachiis, quod significat gloriam, sanctitatem, et fortitudinem."[18] And not long after, Robert Grossetest bishop of Lincoln to Henry the third: "Quod autem in fine literæ vestræ nobis mandastis, videlicet quod intimaremus quid unctionis sacramentum videatur adjicere regiæ dignitati, cum multi sunt reges qui nullatenus unctionis munere decorentur, non est nostræ modicitatis complere hoc. Tamen non ignoramus quod regalis inunctio signum est prærogativæ susceptionis septiformis doni sacratissimi Pneumatis, quo septiformi munere tenetur rex inunctus præeminentius non unctis regibus omnes regias et regiminis sui actiones dirigere:" etc. Selden who quotes this from a manuscript observes, and not rightly, that the bishop was answering as if his mind had been only on the unction given in confirmation.

On account of having been anointed with the sacred oil our kings have received the style "Dei gratia:" which, as an old author of the fourteenth century cited by Selden[19] tells us, could not be given to any one else of the laity: "Nota, quod nullus potest proprie uti isto verbo *Dei gratia*, qui in laicali positus

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because it occurs, almost word for word, in an epistle from Alexander IV. to a bishop of Prague in the preceding century. But this does not affect the reason for which I have quoted it.

[18] Apud Matt. Paris, cit. Selden, p. 109.

A very great canonist says: "Effectus unctionis regalis est ut augeatur ei gratia ad officium, quod ei committitur exercendum: et ut honorabilior habeatur." Hostiensis, *Summa*, lib. 1. tit. *de sacr. unct.*

[19] *Titles of honour*, p. 92. The *Rosula novella* of Petrus de Boateriis.

est dignitate, nisi sit imperator vel rex vel alter qui sui capitis recepit unctionem. Nam tales unguntur oleo sancto; et in rege potest dici evidentissime per exemplum." Relying on this, we have an additional, though incidental, proof how early the rite of unction had become a fixed form in the coronation of the Saxon kings not only in the north, as is shown by the pontifical of Egbert, but even before his time in the west of England. For Ina's ecclesiastical laws, A. D. 700, begin: "Ego Ina Dei gratia occiduorum Saxonum rex."[20]

Selden also cites and remarks upon the rule laid down in the "old provinciale Romanum" as to the number of sovereign princes who were entitled to be anointed: and although the copies vary, some having four kings named and others less, yet, as he concludes, the true reading of the rule was that the kings of England, Jerusalem, France, and Sicily, were alone so entitled. It would seem from Hostiensis (who, by the way, names only England and France in the place just cited in the note) that when the kings of other countries desired to be anointed special permission was to be obtained from the see of Rome: "si quis de novo inungi velit, consuetudo obtinuit, quod a papa petatur, sicut fecit rex Aragonum et quotidie instat rex Scotiæ." Regarding the case of the king of Scotland the bull mentioned above was directed to him on such an occasion: and we have in Matthew Paris an instance of a legate sent to anoint Haco, king of Norway, in 1247: "Applicuit similiter in Anglia episcopus Sabinensis, iturus in

[20] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. I. p. 58. "Ic Ine mid Godes gife Westseaxna cyning."

partes boreales legatus,—et regem Norwegiæ Haconem in regem inuncturus et coronaturus."[21]

The anointing was always held to confer sacredness upon the person of the sovereign; and for this we have the authority of St. Augustine, who speaks however of the earlier unction of the Jewish kings: but the argument is the same. "Quæro, si non habebat Saul sacramenti sanctitatem, quid in eo David venerabatur? Si autem habebat innocentiam, quare innocentem persequebatur? nam eum propter sacrosanctam unctionem, et honoravit vivum et vindicavit occisum: et quia vel panniculum ex ejus veste præscidit percusso corde trepidavit. Ecce Saul non habebat innocentiam, et tamen habebat sanctitatem, non vitæ suæ (nam hoc sine innocentia nemo potest) sed sacramenti Dei, quod et in malis hominibus sanctum est."[22]

The reader will observe that St. Augustine calls the regal unction, in the above passage, a sacrament: nor, relying upon his authority, does there appear to be any objection to the use of so high a term in a wide sense, as something between a sacrament and a sacramental. So also St. Gregory the great says expressly: "Quia vero ipsa unctio sacramentum est, is qui promovetur, bene foris ungitur, si intus virtute

[21] *Hist. Angl.* p. 637. Matthew Paris mentions this again: "Anno sub eodem—coronatus est rex Haco, et in regem inunctus solemniter apud Bergas." p. 643. And the same mode of expression is used by Matthew of Westminister: "Die vero sanctorum Felicis etc., inunctus et coronatus est in regem princeps Norwegiæ Haco." *Flores Hist.* p. 340. Either this was then thought an unusual case or the king of Norway is to be added to the number of the ancient anointed kings: which last is scarcely probable, if we remember the circumstance that a legate was sent to crown him.

[22] Contra litt. Petiliani, lib. ij. cap. 112.

sacramenti roboretur."[23] "Rex unctus" says Lyndwood "non mere persona laica, sed mixta secundum quosdam."[24] But this anointing must not be looked upon, neither ever has it been, as conferring any sacerdotal right or privilege: the sovereigns of England are supreme over all cases within their jurisdiction whether ecclesiastical or civil, as in the one so in the other,[25] both before and after the solemnity of the coronation; nor are their prerogatives increased by its performance, or hindered by its delay; and as before they have no power, so

[23] *Expos.* lib. 1. *regum* cap. x. Balsamon, in his scholia on the 12th canon of the council of Ancyra, has not feared to go much further as to the effects of this unction. But his interpretation of the canon is condemned, and very justly, by all later writers on the subject. He says: "Præsenti canone usus ille sanctissimus patriarcha dominus Polyeuctus:—dixit enim cum sancta synodo in synodalibus actis quæ tunc habita fuerunt, quæ in chartaphylacio reponuntur, quod quoniam sancti baptismatis unctio omnia, quæ ante baptismum fuerunt, qualia et quantacunque sunt, peccata delet; omnino imperatoris quoque unctio cædem delevit." Bevereg. *Pandect.* tom. 1. p. 385. The case alluded to is that of the emperor John Tzimisches, who had slain his predecessor.

Upon the distinction laid down in the 12th century, between the regal and sacerdotal unction, see Raynaldus, tom. 1. ad an. 1204. xlj. And on its effect, Hostiensis, *Summa*, lib. 1. rubr. xv. 11; Scacchi, *Sacr. Elæochr.* p. 1074.

[24] Lib. 3. tit. 2, Ut clericalis, *verb.* beneficiati: cited by archdeacon Wilberforce, *Church Courts*, p. 93; and see a remarkable assertion made by Charles the bold [bald?], 859, upon the sanctity of kings in consequence of their consecration by bishops. *Ibid.* p. 30.

[25] One of the ecclesiastical laws of St. Edward the confessor is entitled, "*Quid sit regis officium:*" and begins, "Rex autem, qui vicarius summi regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, ut regnum terrenum, et populum Domini, et super omnia sanctam veneretur ecclesiam ejus et regat." Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 312. And compare the 2nd of the Anglo-saxon institutes: "Of an earthly king." Thorpe, *Ancient laws and institutes*, vol. 2. p. 305.

er after the regal unction have they any right thority, to minister the sacraments or the word od.[25]

:fore we proceed to other matters connected with ervice of the coronation I must also observe that is country as well as in France the possession miraculous oil has been claimed, and use made

t was an ancient custom, mitted in the Roman pon- that the emperor after his :ration should attend upon ›ntif, as subdeacon, during :elebration of the mass. the old "liber sacrarum oniarum" directs, after the ation is over and the offer- concluded: "Imperator icem ad altare descen- n sequitur, et illi in locum iconi calicem, et patenam ostiis offert, deinde aquam lendam in vino." Lib. I. edit. Rom. 1560. And 'ould seem to be a relic those earlier times when offerings and oblations made by all the laity, at :lebration of the holy eu- t.

one of the old ordines ni, "qualiter Romanus im- ›r debeat coronari," is this : "Induunt eum (*sc.* im- ›rem) amictu et alba cum lo, et sic deducunt ad a in secretarium, ibique ım facit eum, et concedit icam, dalmaticam, pluviale, iitram, quibus utatur in coronatione sua, et sic indutus stat ante domnum papam." Martene, *De ant. ecc. rit.* ij. 303.

It appears certain that the emperor offered to the pope the pàten and the chalice. There is reason to suppose also that the gospel was read by the emperor, if he pleased, on Christmas-eve; or if he was present when the pope pontificated. See Ducange, verb. "Evangelium."

The reader should consult also Thomassin, *De benef.* pars I. lib. 3. cap. lxiv, in which place he will find full information about another custom, introduced and common in many nations, that the newly consecrated prince should be admitted a canon of some . cathedral church. See also Ducange, verb. "Canonici honorarii."

Whether her most gracious majesty queen Victoria is styled a prebendary of the cathedral of St. David I am not able to determine: but a stall in that church is attached to the crown. The date of the appropriation is unknown. *Hist. of St. David's*, p. 326.

of it upon at least one occasion. If it should be thought that the evidence for this miracle is little better than that, before examined, of king Clovis I shall not argue against such an opinion, but leave the reader to form his own conclusion.

The facts, if they may be so called, are as follows in the words of Walsingham: "Die translationis sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris, coronatus est rex Henricus IV.,—unctus est illo cœlesti unguento, quod olim beata Maria, mater Dei, commisit beato Thomæ martyri arch. Cantuar. dum esset in exilio conservandum, prædicens eidem, quod reges Anglorum, qui ungerentur hoc unguento, pugiles essent ecclesiæ, et benigni. Hoc unguentum in aquila aurea et ampulla lapidea conservatum latuit per multa tempora, sed tandem miraculose manifestatum. Dum dominus Henricus primus dux Lancastriæ bella gereret regis sui in partibus transmarinis, ipsi nempe tradita fuit prædicta aquila per quendam sanctum virum, qui illum invenerat revelatione divina. Qui dedit eam nobilissimo principi Edwardo, ut in ea unctione post mortem patris ungeretur in regem. Qui posuit in turri Londoniarum unguentum præfatum, recludens in cista multis firmata securis, latuitque ibi vel per oblivionem, vel per negligentiam, usque ad tempus Richardi regis II. Anno Domini prædicto 1399, prædictus rex Richardus curiose perscrutatus res a progenitoribus sibi relictas, inopinato reperit aquilam et ampullam, et scripturam B. Thomæ. Et cum didicisset virtutem talem unctionis, rogavit dominum Thomam Cant. arch. ut eum denuo ungeret hoc unguento. Qui hoc facere omnino recusavit, dicens sibi sufficere, quod semel per manus suas sacram suscepit in coronatione

pristina unctionem, quæ habere non debuit iterationem. Hanc aquilam cum ampulla rex Richardus portavit in Hiberniam profecturus et denuo rediens in hanc terram. Quam petenti archiepiscopo tradidit, dicens se jam patenter clarescere, quod non fuit voluntatis divinæ, ut ungeretur illo unguento, sed alteri deberi tam nobile sacramentum."[26]

In this story an assertion is said to have been made by the archbishop which, supposing there was any truth in the matter, all parties must have known to be incorrect: "quod semel per manus suas sacram suscepit unctionem, quæ habere non debuit iterationem." For there is no fact more certain than that many of our early kings were crowned more than once.[27] To name no more, Henry the second of

[26] *Hist. Angl.* p. 360. Cf. *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 555, and a MS. in the Cotton library, Faust. B. ix. It is obvious that this legend was invented in order to supply a hereditary defect, and give additional sacredness to the character of king Henry the fourth: whose doubtful title required something of that kind. The assertion that his unfortunate predecessor had not been able to obtain unction with the same oil is a curious circumstance in the tale. I may add that another version of the same legend is given by Weever, from an old leiger book of the abbey of Whalley, *Funeral monuments*, p. 200. Weever may generally be relied on as to his quotations, but he is both an ignorant and an unsafe writer when he does not refer to or transcribe his authorities.

The rabbinical writers declare that the ancient Jewish kings were, in like manner, anointed with a holy oil which had originally been consecrated by Moses, and kept without diminution about 900 years until the captivity.

[27] Pepin also, of France, was anointed twice: first by St. Boniface, the legate; and again by the pope himself, Stephen the second: Charlemagne, five times, and Charles the bald, four times.

If we can trust the statement of Ralph Higden in his *Polychronicon*, it would seem that there was at one time a custom —how long it lasted is altogether

whom Hoveden tells us, speaking of his third coronation, "anno gratiæ 1159, idem rex Henricus tertio fecit se, et Alienor uxorem suam coronari, in solemnitate paschali apud Wirecestre:" and he adds (as if the king was fearful of again being tempted) "ubi cum ad oblationem venirent, deposuerunt coronas suas, et eas super altare obtulerunt; voventes Deo, quod nunquam in vita sua de cætero coronarentur."[28] Henry the third also was first crowned at Gloucester in the year 1216: concerning which Matthew Paris, though he begins by speaking "de prima regis Hen. III. coronatione, quæ per quendam circulum aureum facta sit," expressly declares that there was no distinction made as to the anointing: "Et his gestis" he continues "episcopi, ipsum in regem ungentes, coronaverunt solemniter."[29] And the mass and

uncertain—to keep the crowns of the kings of England at the abbey of St. Edmundsbury. Sweyn, the king, had attacked the town and convent; and soon afterwards was killed. "Canutus filius ejus hæc videns, mitius deinceps cum sancto Edmundo egit: .... exhinc inolevit ut reges coronas suas sancto Edmundo mittant, quibus si uti voluerint magno pretio redimunt." Lib. vj. cap. 16.

[28] *Annal.* pars posterior. edit. Savile, p. 281. See also Alford's *Annals:* who remarks: "Est hoc illustre pietatis exemplum, quo reges Regem regum, et Dominum dominantium pientissimo cultu agnoscunt, ad Christi pedes coronam projicientes." tom. iv. p. 92, pars posterior. A somewhat similar instance of humility is that of Canute who, after the well-known rebuke of his courtiers at Southampton, would not wear his crown: "sed super caput crucifixi Wintoniæ posuit." Henr. de Knyghton, *De event. Angliæ*, lib. 1. cap. v. The same is stated by Henr. Huntingdon, p. 364, cit. Alford, *Annal.* tom. 3. p. 492. "Super imaginem Domini, quæ cruci affixa erat." From the account given by Gervase of the second coronation of Richard the first, it would seem that the unction was then omitted. *Script. X.* tom. 1. p. 1587.

[29] *Hist. Angl.* p. 243. And again, especially, a letter of the

royal banquet followed, as was always customary. The second coronation of this sovereign was performed at Westminster by the archbishop of Canterbury, in 1220: "præsente clero et populo totius regni."[30]

It is probable that our kings anciently knelt during the rite of unction, though I do not remember any express order to this effect earlier than the time of Henry the seventh: "the cardinal sitting, shall anoynte the king, kneeling."[31] So also, in the "devyse" for the coronation of Henry the eighth[32] which I shall have frequent occasion to quote: "the seid cardynall sittyng shall annoynte the king knelyng

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king himself, printed in Rymer, concerning this first solemnity: "in ecclesia beati Petri Glocestriæ,—invocata Spiritus sancti gratia, publice fuimus in regem Angliæ inuncti et coronati." *Fœdera*, tom. 1. pars 1. p. 72.

[30] *Ibid.* p. 260. Holinshed, *Chronicles*, vol. 3. p. 202.

There was also a tale attached to a ring of St. Edward: which was taken from his finger by the confessor (says the Golden legend) on an occasion when he had no other alms to bestow, "ne hys amener was not present," and given to a poor man who afterwards proved to be St. John the evangelist, and who returned the ring. This is gravely related by Ailred, *Script. X.* tom. 1. p. 398, and by Hoveden in his *Annals*, edit. Savile, p. 256. Some writers make this ring to have been the one anciently used at coronations: but it is difficult to see upon what evidence they rely. For not only is it certain that the ring was not always used, but also that the coronation ring was sometimes afterwards but little regarded. Thus, a royal order of Henry the sixth concerning some jewels mentions "A ryng of gold, garnyshed with a fayr rubie, sometyme geven unto us by our bel oncle the cardinal of Englande, with the whiche we were sacred in the day of our coronacion at Parys, delivered unto Matthew Phelip, to breke, and thereof to make an other ryng for the quene's wedding ring." Rymer, *Fœdera*, tom. 5. pars 1. p. 139.

[31] Ives, *Select papers*.

[32] Cotton MS., Tiberius E. viij.

on quysshyns." On the other hand, it is to be remarked that in the magnificent manuscript of the coronation service of Charles the fifth of France,[33] the illuminations represent the king standing at the anointing of the breast: whilst he kneels with his vestment unlaced during the prayers which immediately precede, and kneels again to be anointed on the hands.

After the anointing of the head a linen coif or chrismale was put on: and, as the reader will see in the notes to the service below, this was ordered to be worn for seven days and on the eighth to be removed by a bishop, or the abbot of Westminster, with the celebration of a proper mass. Ducange does not seem to have been aware of this use of the chrismale, as he explains its purpose only as another name for ampullæ or coverings for relics, besides its more common acceptation with respect to the newly confirmed: of which I have already spoken in another part of this work.[34] In the old account of the coronation of Henry the sixth we find, after the anointing: "And then they leyd a certeyn softe thynge to all the places so annoynted. And on his hede dyd a white coyfe of silk, and so he went and lay viij dayes. And the viijth daye they shuld wasshe it of hym." Also in the "devyse" for Henry the eighth: "He shall put vpon the kyng's hed a coyfe, the same to be broughte to the greet

[33] Cotton MS., Tiberius B. viij.

[34] In the order of confirmation, in the first volume. Mr. Taylor cites an early example of the chrismale from the Saxon chronicle (an. 878): "Guthrum the Dane was baptized at Alre, and 'hiſ cpiſm-lẏſing pæſ æt Peđmoꝛ,' that is, his chrismal was taken off at Wedmore." *Glory of regality*, p. 193.

chamberlayne: whiche shall contynuelly abyde on the kings hed to the viijte daye next folowing, at whiche viij. dayes, after a solempne masse seyd by a bisshop before the king, the seid bishop shall take the coyf from the kyng's hed."

The consecration of chrism having been discontinued in the reformed church of England since the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, oil only has been used in succeeding coronations. I am quite unable to say by whom, or according to what office, the benediction of this oil has been performed on recent occasions. Sandford asserts in his account of James the second's coronation[35] that the dean[36] of Westminster "early in the morning, with the assistance of the prebendaries, consecrated the holy oil for their majesties' anointing:" but he supplies no particulars, and "consecration" seems to be a word of too wide a meaning. Mr. Taylor[37] gives his decision, unsupported by any proof, that "it is of course set apart for the purpose to which it is designed with suitable acts of reverential solemnity:" and somewhat quaintly adds, "the formulary of its consecration hath not I believe been published." I do not feel obliged to offer any guesses upon what has hitherto, since the sixteenth century, been the practice: nor to state whether I believe or not, with Mr. Taylor, that the holy oil has been always beforehand set apart with "suitable acts of solemnity." Every one would hope that such has been the case. When any future occasion demands a

[35] p. 91. And with this agrees another account, printed in 4to. 1760, p. 6.

[36] The dean at that time happened to be a bishop: the bishop of Rochester.

[37] *Glory of regality*, p. 352.

revision of our coronation order—from the necessity of which I earnestly trust and pray that God, of His goodness, may long preserve us—a prayer of benediction of the oil might with great propriety be inserted to be said by the archbishop, or some bishop, after the beginning of the service itself. The coronation service is a very high ceremony of the State, and the expression of any desire by the established Church to give to it additional solemnity or dignity should be cordially welcomed. Regarded in this aspect it is not seemly, nor according to any ancient precedent, that the benediction of the oil should be entrusted to the dean of Westminster, being an episcopal prerogative and duty.[38]

Here seems to be the proper place to remark upon a ceremony which, in the late coronations of queen Adelaide and her present Majesty, has not been observed. I refer to the anointing of the breast. This rite had been practised for nearly 800 years, for it does not appear to have been introduced until after the Norman conquest. The Roman pontifical

[38] It may possibly be argued by members of the reformed English church that the consecration of the oil is performed by the archbishop when he says the prayer "O Lord, holy Father," and "lays his hand upon the ampulla." A designation of the oil to its particular purpose does then take place, but there is scarcely what both theologians and ritualists would call a consecration or benediction of it. The oil is afterwards undoubtedly called "holy oil" and may therefore be so esteemed by those who use it. A strong evidence however against considering this prayer from any point of view as a form of consecration of the oil lies in the fact that it occurs in the same place in the order for king James the second, when, as Sandford expressly states, the solemnity of the consecration had previously been completed.

did not adopt it: and for this reason, if for no other, there is cause to regret that it has been, for a season, omitted; namely, because it appears to have been a solemnity peculiar to the queens of England and France. I was told by the late archbishop Howley, by whom both queen Adelaide and queen Victoria were crowned, that this anointing was not observed from a feeling of delicacy.

The mode of its ancient performance is well shown by the illuminations in the coronation book of Charles the fifth of France. The second represents the queen kneeling, with her robe laced;[39] in the third she is standing, surrounded and concealed by her ladies, whilst they unlace it; in the fourth she kneels, her robe unlaced, before the archbishop; who anoints her, not with his finger, but with a golden reed or pencil; and whilst he anoints the ladies hold a thin veil before her.

It was from this anointing, whether upon the head or breast or upon both, that our queens-consort no less than kings are spoken of as consecrated. As for example, Bromton in his chronicle says of the queen of Henry the first, "quam Anselmus die sancti Martini coronavit, et in reginam Angliæ consecravit."[40] This was so from the earliest times

[39] Although Elizabeth of York was not crowned at the same time as her husband, Henry the seventh, it is not likely that any alteration was made from "the device" prepared in 1485 for the coronation of both king and queen. This "device" orders that the queen shall be "arraied in a smokke of Raynes, and a surcote roiall of crymesen velwet opened before vnto her wast, fastened with a lace, for the holy vnccion." Harl. MS. 511. Raynes was the finest description of French linen; originally from Rennes.

[40] *Scripl. X.* tom. I. p. 998;

of which we have any record: for, although it is well known that for some period the Anglo-saxon queens were deprived of their dignity, in consequence of the crimes of Eadburga in the beginning of the ninth century, yet there is reason to suppose that before that date they were both crowned and anointed. It is quite certain that from the time of Judith the queen of Ethelwulf, and from the date of the ritual of king Ethelred, they always have been.[41]

We find frequent allusion made in the old chronicles to the anointing of the queens of England, as well as of our kings, upon the breast: which evidently shows that it has been, since its adoption, looked upon as a very significant and solemn part of the ceremony. Thus, Grafton in his account of Richard the third and queen Anne: "After diverse songes solemply song, they both discended to the

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also Hoveden, p. 268: "Quam Anselmus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus reginam consecravit."

[41] Mr. Taylor, in his appendix, disputes the fact of the Anglo-Saxon queens having been crowned before the time of queen Judith: arguing from the circumstance that no mention of their "coronation" is to be found, and that all the writers who relate the guilt of Eadburga, and the consequent abhorrence of the people, speak only of the royal dignity and the title of Queen in general terms. But I would rather take the same view with the very learned writers Spelman and Selden: who both understand the actual coronation of the Saxon queens to have been an established ceremony, and for a season interrupted. The strongest argument in favour of Mr. Taylor's view is one which he has not stated; viz. that the pontifical of Egbert does not give the order for a queen. I own this to be a difficulty, and leave the question to the judgment of the reader. He must consult the original passages in Asser, Florence of Worcester, Matthew of Westminster, and the Polychronicon, &c.

high altare, and were shifted from their robes, and had diverse places open from the middle vpward, in whiche places they were anointed."[42] So, of the coronation of Anne Boleyn: "After she had rested a while, she descended down to the high altar, and there prostrate hir selfe, while the archbishop of Canturburie said certeine collects: then she rose, and the bishop annointed hir on the head, and on the brest, and then she was led vp again."[43]

Sandford gives a full description of the coronation of James the second and Mary of Modena. After the prayer, "Almighty and everlasting God, the fountain of all goodness, etc., the queen kneeled down and the archbishop poured the holy oil on the crown of her head, in form of a cross, using these words, 'In the name of the Father,' etc. After which, the same lady, assisted as before, opened her apparel for the anointing her majesty on the breast, which the archbishop also performed, pouring on the holy oyl in form of a cross, and using the same words." Then a prayer. "Then the said great lady, with her assistants (having first dryed the place anointed with fine cotton wool)

[42] *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 517. See the same in Holinshed, vol. 3. p. 733, and Hall, p. 376. And compare Grafton's *Chronicle*, vol. 2. p. 115.

[43] Holinshed, vol. 3. p. 933; Hall, p. 803. Compare also the archbishop's own account of this coronation in the *Archæologia*, vol. 18. p. 80, and in Ellis's *Original letters*, 1st series, vol. 2. p. 39. The coronation of Anne Boleyn was performed in a very magnificent manner, at a lavish expense. Hence the details of it are important. An original paper of Cromwell in the treasury of the exchequer, cited by Weever (*Funeral mon.* p. 512), states, among the extraordinary expenses of the reign: "Item, his highnesse hath been at a most costly charge for the coronation of queen Anne."

closed the queen's robes at her breast, and after put a linen coif on her head, because of the anointing. Which done, the archbishop put the ring on the fourth finger of the queen's right hand, saying, 'Receive this ring,' etc."[44]

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[44] *Coronation of James the second and queen Mary*, p. 101. "The queen's coronation ring was likewise gold, with a large table ruby set therein, and 16 other small rubies round about the ring." *Ibid.* p. 43. It is said, that Mary constantly wore this ring until the day of her death.

CHAPTER II.

I SHALL now extract some accounts of the early coronations of our kings. If two or three of these seem to be long, the reader will be repaid by the light which they throw upon the service itself, which will follow; and by the amount of evidence which they furnish to the constant observance of the more important parts of the solemnity. Notices of every reign are not necessary; but those only which will be sufficient to bring down the facts, in one unbroken line, from the eighth to the sixteenth century.

The coronation and anointing of Egferth have been already spoken of. In the year 795 the Saxon chronicle relates that Eardwulph, king of Northumberland, was "consecrated and raised to his throne by Eanbalde, archbishop, and other bishops."[1] In the next century we have a very important account, by a contemporary, of the coronation of Edmund king of the east Angles: "Anno dominicæ incarnationis 856, Nunberchus antistes unxit oleo consecravitque in regem Eadmundum gloriosissimum."[2] For the succeeding century, Wallingford in his chronicles relates the celebrated story of Dunstan and king Edwin; which he thus prefaces:

[1] "And Eardƿulf feng to Norðanhymbran cinedome: ⁊ he ƿæs syððan gebletsod. ⁊ to his cine-stole ahofen." p. 81. "cine-setl" is more properly a throne.

[2] Asser, *de Ælfredi rebus gestis*, p. 4.

"Verum in ipsis primordiis regni, videlicet ipso die unctionis ejus, qualis futurus rex foret, demonstravit. Cui enim post coronationem et missarum solemnia, ut tantæ solemnitati congruit," etc.[3] Once more; the coronation of king Ethelred, the ordo of which will be so frequently referred to below, is thus spoken of: "cui frater ejus Ethelredus in regnum successit, et a sancto Dunestano aliisque Anglorum episcopis inungitur et consecratur."[4]

Reminding the reader that accounts of the intermediate inaugurations and consecrations are to be found in the various chronicles, some giving one detail some another,[5] we may pass on to the coro-

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[3] *Scriptores XV.* p. 542.

[4] Ailred abbas, *Script. X.* tom. 1. p. 362. "A sanctis archipræsulibus Dunstano et Oswaldo, et decem episcopis, in Kyngestune ad regni fastigium est consecratus." *Flo. Wigorn.* p. 608.*

[5] The historians tell us of omens which were observed at the coronation of king Stephen: "Fertur quod cum rex communionem corporis Christi die coronationis suæ ore esset percepturus, eucharistia inter manum archiepiscopi et os regis subito elapsa disparuit." Bromton, Chron. *Script. X.* tom. 1. p. 1023. Gervase in his chronicle relates another: "In cujus coronatione inter missarum solennia triste contigit præsagium futurorum. Nam cum præfatus archiepiscopus post *Agnus Dei* corporis et sanguinis Salvatoris sacramenta conficeret, osculum pacis quod in populo dare sacrosancta consuevit ecclesia oblivioni penitus traditum est." *Ibid.* p. 1340. Both these authors relate the following, which may not improperly be added here, though it is not said to have occurred at his coronation: "Rex autem Stephanus sub tantis æstibus missam interim solempnem audiebat, Alexandro episcopo tunc celebrante; in cujus manibus cereus quem rex ex more solito

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* It may be worth noting that a "king's peace" was enjoined before the conquest, for eight days following his first coronation: "Pax regis multiplex est; .... alia, die quo primum coronatus est, quæ dies tenet octo." Laws of St. Edward, *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 312.

nation of king Richard the first, of which we have full descriptions in both Matthew Paris and Hoveden. The following is from the latter author, a contemporary:—

"In primis venerunt episcopi, et abbates, et clerici multi, induti capis sericis, præcedentibus eos cruce, ceroferariis, thuribulis cum aqua benedicta, usque ad ostium thalami regis interioris, et ibi receperunt prædictum Richardum ducem, qui coronandus erat, et duxerunt eum in ecclesiam Westmonasterii, usque ad altare majus cum ordinata processione, et cantu glorioso; et omnis via, qua gradiebantur ab ostio thalami regis, usque ad altare cooperta erat pannis laneis. Ordo autem processionis talis erat. In prima fronte præcedebant clerici induti, portantes aquam benedictam, et crucem, et cereos, et thuribulos. Deinde veniebant priores. Deinde abbates. Deinde episcopi, et in medio illorum ibant quatuor barones portantes quatuor candelabra aurea.[6] .... Deinde venit Richardus dux Normanniæ; et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus ibat a dextris illius, et Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus a sinistris illius ibat: et quatuor barones portaverunt supra eos umbraculum sericum, super quatuor lanceas, et omnis turba comitum, et baronum, et militum, et aliorum, tam clericorum quam laicorum,

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obtulit confractus est; quod signum fuit confractionis regis. Pixis etiam cum eucharistia fracta cathena super altare cecidit, et hoc fuit signum regiæ ruinæ." *Ibid.* 1030, 1352. And in Hoveden, *Annals*, p. 278. If we can trust bishop Burnet, a similar omen was observed at the coronation of James the second. The crown tottered on his head, and Henry Sidney kept it from falling.

[6] I have omitted the details of the regalia, and the names of those who carried them.

sequebatur usque in atrium ecclesiæ, et induti introierunt cum duce usque in chorum. Cum autem dux ad altare veniret, coram archiepiscopis, episcopis, et clero, et populo, flexis genibus ante altare coram positis sacrosanctis evangeliis, et plurimorum sanctorum reliquiis, juravit quod ipse omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, pacem et honorem atque reverentiam Deo, et sanctæ ecclesiæ, et ejus ordinatis, portaret. Deinde denudaverunt eum totum, exceptis camisia et braccis; camisia dissuta erat in scapulis. Deinde calciaverunt eum sandaliis, auro contextis. Deinde Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus infundens oleum sanctum super caput ejus, unxit eum in regem, in tribus locis, videlicet in capite, in pectore, et in brachiis; quod significat gloriam, et fortitudinem, et scientiam, cum orationibus ad hoc constitutis. Deinde posuit idem archiepiscopus supra caput ejus consecratum pannum lineum, et pileum desuper. Deinde induerunt eum cum vestimentis regalibus. Deinde tradidit ei idem archiepiscopus gladium regium. Deinde duo comites calciaverunt ei calcaria. Deinde indutus est mantea. Deinde ductus est ad altare, et ibi prædictus archiepiscopus prohibuit ei, ex parte omnipotentis Dei, ne hunc honorem sibi assumeret, nisi in mente haberet, supradicta sacramenta et vota quæ fecerat inviolabiliter servare; et ipse respondit, se per auxilium Dei omnia supradicta servaturum sine fraude. Deinde ipse cepit coronam de altari, et tradidit eam archiepiscopo, et archiepiscopus posuit eam super caput illius, quam duo comites sustinebant propter ponderositatem ipsius. Deinde tradidit ei archiepiscopus sceptrum regale, in manu dextra, et virgam regalem, in manu sinistra; et rex sic coronatus ductus est ad sedem

suam, a prædictis Dunelmensi et Bathoniensi episcopis, præcedentibus eos ceroferariis et prædictis tribus gladiis. Deinde inchoata est missa dominicalis, et cum perveniretur ad offertorium, prædicti episcopi duxerunt eum ad altare, et ipse obtulit unam marcam auri purissimi. Talis enim oblatio decet regem in singulis coronationibus suis. Et præfati episcopi reduxerunt eum ad sedem suam. Celebrata autem missa, et omnibus rite peractis, prædicti duo episcopi, unus a dextris, et alter a sinistris, reduxerunt eum coronatum, et portantem sceptrum in dextra, et virgam regalem in sinistra, ab ecclesia usque in thalamum suum, præcedente ordinata processione, ut superius. Deinde reversa est processio in chorum, et dominus rex deposuit coronam regalem et vestes regales; et leviores coronam et vestes cepit, et sic coronatus venit prandere; et archiepiscopi et episcopi sederunt cum eo in mensa, unusquisque secundum ordinem et dignitatem suam. Comites autem et barones serviebant in domo regis, prout dignitates eorum exigebant. Cives vero London. servierunt de pincernaria, et cives Winton. de coquina."[7]

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[7] Edit. Savile, p. 374. The Cotton MS. Claudius E. viij. contains a transcript of this, of the fourteenth century: headed, "de modo coronationis regis, et de coronatione regis Ricardi." Compare Matt. Paris, p. 128, and John Bromton, chron. in *Script. X.* tom. I. p. 1158. The chronicle of Gervase relates the second coronation of Richard, after his return from captivity; and has an account of the order observed at king Stephen's. This last may be quoted, as it gives the right precedence of the bishops and their places in the procession:—

"Instante horâ tertiâ, et rege cum baronibus suis et comitibus quibuslibet pretiosis tamen induto vestibus, induantur episcopi et conventus albis et cappis, et sequentes archiepiscopum Can-

The ceremonies which took place at the coronation of Richard the second are so fully described by Walsingham, that he seems but to have made an abridgment of the *Liber regalis*. The following is the substance of his account of the solemnity: and the student who wishes to understand the office itself will do well to read it carefully and compare the two. Walsingham mentions some particulars which the official Ordo does not nor could include: and giving us a statement of what actually took place, he supplies moreover an admirable commentary and testimony to the form which was appointed to be observed:—

"Die Jovis, id est, 16 die Julii, vigilia sancti Ke-

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tuariensem usque ad regis cameram, ordines suos teneant episcopi secundum primogenita consecrationis, præter Eboracensem archiepiscopum si affuerit, Londoniensem, Wintoniensem, et Roffensem. Quorum Eboracensis ad dexteram ibit archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, Londoniensis ad sinistram. Si forte defuerit Eboracensis, Londoniensis ibit ad dexteram, Wintoniensis ad sinistram. Roffensis vero, qui Cantuariensis archiepiscopi capellanus est, prope archiepiscopum subsequetur a tergo, comitantibus eum à dextris et à sinistris duobus monachis capellanis archiepiscopi, ut cum libro paratus sit ad inveniendas congruas orationes. Regi autem super tapetum vel pallium coram archiepiscopo Cantuariensi inclinato genibus vel stanti, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus coronam imponat auream, et sceptrum in dextram, et hanc dicat orationem, *Coronet te Dominus, etc.* Deinde sonantibus signis cum cantu ducatur in ecclesiam. Quo flectente genua coram altari, finito cantu dicat archiepiscopus has preces. *Domine salvum fac regem. Mitte eidem auxilium de sancto. Esto ei Domine turris fortitudinis. Dominus vobiscum. Quæsumus omnipotens Deus ut famulus tuus rex noster, etc.* Deinde ducatur ad thronum regium et missam celebret archiepiscopus Cantuariensis. Post evangelium ducatur rex ad offerendum. Post Agnus communicet rex et missa finiatur. Post missam deducant eum in palatium, comites et barones cereos ferant, et regium gladium in forulo." *Script. X.* tom. 1. p. 1587.

nelmi regis, convenientibus archiepiscopo et episcopis regnique proceribus ad Westm. summo mane, ordinata processione monachorum in capis, episcopi cum monachis ad ostium regii thalami pervenerunt, et paratum regem reperientes ibidem per manus qui ejus lateribus astiterunt, perduxerunt in ecclesiam S. Petri, cantantes antiphonam in honorem apostoli, cum oratione competenti adjuncta, et hac oratione: '*Deus humilium.*' Rex vero mox ut altare pervenit, prostravit se solo tenus ante altare, pavimentum autem stratum fuit palliis et tapetis. Prosecuta, ut diximus, oratione archiepiscopus, cum episcopis qui aderant, prostravit se super pavimentum circa regem. Interim duo episcopi litaniam devote cantarunt. Qua expleta erectus rex ductus est ad sedem suam: choro hanc antiphonam decantante, '*Firmetur.*' Tunc episcopus sermonem fecit de materia regis et regni ad populum, qualiter rex se haberet in populo, et in quibus populus sibi debuit obedire. Quo completo juravit rex coram archiepiscopo, et proceribus qui ibi aderant, quoniam ipsi soli ejus juramentum audire potuerunt.—Quibus expletis, archiepiscopus . . . convertit se ad omnes plagas ecclesiæ, indicans populo regium juramentum, et quærens si se tali principi ac rectori subjicere, et ejus jussionibus obtemperare vellent. Et responsum est a plebetisono clamore, quod libenter sibi parere vellent. Archiepiscopus regem his orationibus benedixit, videlicet: '*Omnipotens.*' Ista præmissa benedictio post primam orationem ad modum præfationis ab archiepiscopo cantabatur, qua cantata dicta est et alia oratio super eum, scilicet, '*Deus ineffabilis,*' cum antiphona, '*Confortare.*' Tunc archiepiscopus accessit ad eum, et vestimenta sua discindens manib. suis a summo

usque ad imum, exuit eum præter camisiam vestimentis suis. Custodes vero .v. portuum ex officio tam in processione, quam in unctione et missa, et post missam dum iret ad palatium ab ecclesia, semper tenuerunt umbraculum sericum magnum, coloris aerii, IV. hastis per quatuor angulos colligatum. Sed non obstante umbraculo supradicto, mox antequam archiepiscopus eum suis vestibus exuisset, allatus est pannus aureus a comitibus, sub quo latuit, dum unctionis perciperet sacramenta. Archiepiscopus (ut diximus) eo nudato unxit manus ejus de oleo sanctificato, unde uncti fuerunt reges et prophetæ, et sicut unxit Samuel Davidem in regem.—Item dixit orationem '*Prospice*.' Post hæc unxit archiepiscopus caput ejus, et pectus, et scapulas, ambasque compages brachiorum, dicens: '*Unguantur caput istud*.' Et interim chorus cantavit antiphonam, '*Unxerunt*.' Postquam subjunxit metropolitanus, '*Deus Dei Filius*.' Mox finita oratione archiepiscopus cum episcopis dixit hymnum, '*Veni Creator Spiritus*,' rege interim prostrato in longa venia, et circa eum metropolitano cum suffraganeis suis. Expleto hymno erectus est rex ab archiepiscopo, et indutus est primo tunica S. Ed. et post ejusdem dalmatica, projecta circa collum ejus stola, archiepiscopo orationes competentes interim prosequente. Post hæc archiepiscopus cum episcopis tradidit ei gladium, ita dicens: '*Accipe gladium*.' Tunc duo comites eum gladio accinxerunt: quo facto archiepiscopus armillas dedit ei, dicens: '*Accipe armillas*.' Postea induit eum archiepiscopus regali pallio, ita dicens: '*Accipe pallium*.' Interim dum archiepiscopus benedixit coronam regiam, duo comites calcariaverunt, ad quorum officium pertinebat. Benedicta corona, archi-

episcopus imposuit super caput, dicens: '*Coronet te.*' Tunc dedit ei archiepiscopus anulum, cum his verbis: '*Accipe anulum.*' Statim post hæc accessit dominus de Furnival, ex officio offerens ei rubeam chirothecam, quam archiepiscopus benedixit, et imposuit manui regiæ, dans ei sceptrum his verbis, dicens: '*Accipe sceptrum.*' Tunc dedit ei archiepiscopus virgam in alia manu, habentem in summitate columbam, nam sceptrum quod susceperat consurrexit de rotundo globo aureo, quem tenebat in manu chirothecata, et habebat in summitate signum crucis, et accepit virgam prædictam cum verbis his: '*Accipe virtutis.*' Post hæc benedictus est rex ab archiepiscopo ita dicente: '*Benedicat te.*' His itaque peractis, osculatus est rex episcopos omnes et abbates, a quibus statim ductus est postea ad regale solium, episcopis inchoantibus hymnum, '*Te Deum laudamus.*' Finito hymno, archiepiscopus ita eum allocutus est: '*Sta et retine.*' His itaque peractis, inchoata est missa congruens coronationi regiæ.—Lecto evangelio, rex de regali solio ductus est ad offerendum. Primo igitur obtulit archiepiscopo gladium suum, quem susceperat, et postea aurum quantum placuit, sed non minus marca propter consuetudinem: nam plus potest offerre Deo et sancto Petro si placuerit. Post oblationem pecuniæ obtulit archiepiscopo panem et vinum ad modum monachorum, unde postea, tam metropolitanus, quam ipse rex, communicati fuerunt. Quo facto, comes, ad cujus officium pertinebat portare gladium coram rege, gladium quem obtulerat dato pretio redemit, et assumens eum, portabat coram illo. Percelebrata missa usque ad communionem, reductus est rex ad altare, et genu flexo coram archiepiscopo, dixit, '*Con-*

fiteor.' Quo absoluto, communicatus est, et iterum reductus est ad sedem suam.—Illico post decessum militis[8] [*Joannis Dymok*], præequitantibus regem dominis supradictis super dextrarios suos, necnon præcedente magno numero diversi generis histrionum, portatus est in humeris militum usque ad regale palatium, ductus quoque in cameram, paulisper quievit: debilis enim fuerat præ labore parum comedens."[9]

Of succeeding coronations there are few particulars which would illustrate further the service which I have printed: three very curious and valuable manuscripts in English are extant, and preserved in the British museum, from which I have made (as the reader will observe) many extracts in the notes, to elucidate the text. These manuscripts are entitled, 1st, "The maner and forme of the kyngis and quenes coronacion in Englonde;"[10]

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[8] The champion (see note, p. 46) came at an improper time to the abbey; and was desired to go away and appear at the banquet: "Henricus Percy venit ad dictum militem, dicens non debere eum ea hora venire, sed quod usque ad prandium regis differret adventum suum."

For some account of the family of the Dymocks, and before them of the Kilpecs, see the *Archæologia*, vol. 20. p. 207. note b; and for the oath which champions were to take in case of a duel, *ibid.* p. 170. note b. It has been supposed, from the error related above by Walsingham, that either the representative of the family of Dymock for the first time discharged the office at that coronation; or, that the ceremony had been omitted during some preceding reigns. It is a curious circumstance that the widow of this Sir John Dymock was obliged many years after to petition king Henry the fourth for the fees due upon this occasion: and the original petition is still extant—Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xiv. 49. The petition is written on a slip of vellum.

[9] *Hist. Angl.* edit. Camden, p. 195. Compare Holinshed, vol. 3. p. 416.

[10] Lansdown MS. 285.

which not improbably was prepared for some particular occasion, although there is no evidence what that was; 2nd, an account of the coronation of Henry the sixth;[11] and 3rd, the "Devyse" for the coronation of king Henry the eighth. This last is especially valuable; having been carefully examined and approved by the king himself, who has made many corrections with his own hand in the oath which he was to take.[12]

There are some remarkable circumstances relating to the coronation of king Edward the sixth, and there appears to be no reason to doubt the assertion of bishop Burnet that the form was shortened; although it is not correct, unless mere omissions made it so, that "a new form was ordered to be drawn."[13] The chief document, of authority, which describes at length the order in which the coronation was to be observed is "the Order" printed by Burnet in his records, book 1. no. 4; from the council book. It cannot be denied that there were in the ancient service some few and short passages which, after the dissolution of the abbeys, would necessarily call for some alteration; but the reason which the council gave for shortening the ceremony was not true, viz. that the king was too young to bear the fatigue of so long a ceremony; for he was older than his predecessors, Henry the third and Henry the sixth, and about one year younger than

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[11] Cotton MS. Nero C. ix.

[12] Cotton MS. Tiberius E. viij. An excellent facsimile of the oath, with its interlineations, has been given by Sir Henry Ellis in the first volume of the second series of his *Original letters:* a work of very great interest; which I have more than once referred to.

[13] *Hist. reform.* vol. 3. p. 26.

Richard the second. Whatever the true cause may have been, the fact that the service was mutilated and curtailed does not seem to admit of dispute; and to a very considerable extent, if we place any reliance on the order of the council. For among other things omitted it does not appear that Edward received investiture with the royal robe, or ring; or that he was even offered or presented with the sceptres of the realm of England. If one would object that this record from the council books is not to be interpreted so strictly, because it is not credible that so solemn a part of the ceremonies as that regarding the sceptres would have been struck out, I do not then see how he would prove that Edward the sixth was not, as he ought to have been, completely and properly crowned after the ancient manner and custom of his fathers. I leave the matter to the consideration of the reader.[14]

Queen Mary was crowned according to the old and full form of the *Liber regalis*. Holinshed gives a very long description of the pageants, as she went to the abbey; but of the service itself he merely states that "the coronation and other ceremonies and solemnities were according to the old custome.'[15]

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[14] Holinshed, in a general way, asserts that "his coronation was solemnized in due forme and order, with all the roialtie and honour which thereunto apperteined." vol. 3. p. 979.

I am indebted to a friend for a transcript also of a contemporary account of this coronation (Harleian MS. 3504), possibly drawn up by an eye-witness, in which it is asserted that the sceptres were delivered to the king by two noblemen: and also, that he was anointed on the soles of his feet. I hesitate to place much reliance on this document, where it differs from the council-minute; and the writer, without intending it, might have both mistaken and misrepresented facts.

[15] Vol. 3. p. 1091.

Archbishop Parker corroborates this, and says; "regina Maria missationibus sacrisque pontificiis uncta regnoque initiata est."[16] Queen Elizabeth was also crowned according to the old rites, and with the celebration of the mass, omitting only the elevation of the host.[17] The new form was first used upon the occasion of the coronation of king James in 1603; and this, with some alterations, has been "the Coronation Service" up to the present day.

By a careful examination of the notes below the reader will be able, I trust, to trace sufficiently for himself the principal changes which have been made, from time to time, during the last two centuries: and for more exact enquiry (these modern services being rather incidentally than truly within the proper limits of my subject) I must refer him to the forms themselves, all of which are, I believe, still extant in our great libraries.[18]

I do not enter into any account or history of the regalia: much information may be obtained from common books respecting them, such as Sandford,

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[16] *De antiquitate Brit. ecc.* p. 509.

[17] Burnet, vol. 3. p. 762. It seems certain however that there was only one bishop present, Oglethorpe of Carlisle: and Collier, speaking loosely, says that the solemnity "was performed according to ancient custom, and directed by the Roman pontifical." vol. 2. p. 412. The ancient custom was very different from the Roman order. But some modification of the old rubrics of the *Liber regalis* must have unavoidably taken place, in consequence of the refusal of the bishops to attend. It has been said that the queen never forgot or forgave their resolution in this matter: see Ellis, *Original letters*, 3rd series, vol. 2. p. 324.

[18] Besides those in the Bodleian and the British museum several forms, not to be found elsewhere, are in the libraries of Lambeth and of the dean and chapter of Westminster.

or Taylor in the *Glory of regality*. The regalia now used are not ancient: the old regalia were destroyed and melted down by order of the long parliament: among them, it is said, the genuine crown of king Alfred. The modern crowns, sceptres, &c. were made for Charles the second.

There is however one monument of antiquity remaining, the coronation chair. Underneath it is the famous relic, the coronation stone. The legend is, that this is the stone on which the patriarch Jacob laid his head in the plain of Luz; that it was brought from Egypt to Spain; from thence to Ireland B.C. 700; carried to Scotland B.C. 300; and at last offered at the shrine of Edward the confessor at Westminster by king Edward the first. Whatever amount of truth there may be in this the remark is just, that "this is the antientest respected monument in the world, for though some others may be more antient as to duration, yet thus superstitiously regarded they are not."[19] The stone was reckoned among the jewels of Scotland: thus, in the wardrobe account of Edward the first, we find: "jocalia remanentia in fine anni xxvij^{mi} de jocalibus quæ fuerunt quondam regis Scocie, inventis in castro de Edeneburgh anno xxv^{to}, videlicet, ciphus argenti, etc. Una petra magna super quam reges Scocie solebant coronari."[20] The first chair was made by Kenneth of Scotland, in the ninth century: and

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[19] Toland, *Hist. of the Druids*, p. 104.

[20] *Liber quotidianus*, 4to., p. 353. See also Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. 1. p. 468. A detailed account of the coronation of Alexander the third, at Scone, in 1249, is in Fordun's *Chronicle*. This is printed by Skene, in his pamphlet on the coronation stone.

Edward the first ordered a new chair, for the payment of which a considerable sum is entered in the wardrobe accounts of the year 1300.

There is no record of the first coronation at which the stone was used in England: probably by Edward the second. And even if Edward the first did not specify the purpose to which it was in after ages to be put, it is not likely that his successors would either forget the old traditions about it, or neglect to secure to themselves the blessings which were promised to those who should have the power and be entitled to be crowned on it. But we must not fail to remember (and writers upon the regalia have not noticed this circumstance) that an early authority, Thomas Walsingham, says that Edward deposited the stone at Westminster for the use of the celebrant at the Confessor's shrine. His statement is: "In redeundo autem transivit per abbathiam de Scone, ubi sublato lapide quo reges Scotorum tempore coronationis solebant uti pro throno, transtulit illum usque Westmonasterium, jubens idem fieri celebrantium cathedram sacerdotum."[21]

Before the reformation all the regalia, it is said, were kept at Westminster under the care of the abbot and convent: and now, though deposited in the Tower, they are brought the evening before the coronation to the dean of Westminster, and are left after the ceremony in his charge at the shrine of the Confessor. Rishanger in his chronicle, speaking of the two sceptres being carried in procession by the abbot of Westminster, adds: "hoc officium fecit abbas, non quia primus est inter abbates, sed quia

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[21] *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 485.

regalium insignium est repositorium locus suus." But compare an order "thesaurario et camerariis de scaccario" to deliver up the golden eagle with the ampulla.[22] And again in 1220, a similar order "Petro de malo lacu," to bring the "regale, quod penes ipsum est apud Corff."[23]

There is, however, one remnant of the ancient regalia (if I may so entitle it) still entrusted to the custody of the dean of Westminster, viz. the *Liber regalis*. This most valuable volume, so often to be referred to hereafter, is a thin folio, of 38 leaves of vellum. There are four illuminations in it, each occupying nearly a page, prefixed to the offices which correspond. 1. Of a king being crowned. 2. Of a king and queen crowned together. 3. Of a queen alone. 4. Of a king lying in state. These illuminations are executed upon a very rich ground of highly burnished gold with scrolls, according to the fashion of that time, represented by minute punctures upon the surface. The date of the manuscript cannot be later than the reign of Richard the second, for whose coronation it has been supposed to have been written; but the illuminations represent a monarch much older than he was on that occasion, and the likeness must either therefore be conventional, or intended for his predecessor Edward the third,[24] or for himself in after-life. Whatever the fact may be, the intrinsic value and importance of the *Liber regalis* is not affected; it still remains

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[22] An. 8. Henr. VI. Rymer, *Fœdera*, tom. 4. pars 4. p. 151.

[23] *Ibid.* tom. 1. pars 1. p. 81.

[24] The chair in which the sovereign sits is not of that character which is attributed to the later years of Edward the third, as being made by him for the stone.

"the Royal Book;" the Book of the royal offices, to be performed and observed according to the use of the royal church of Westminster, in the fourteenth century.[25]

The history and the meaning of the coronation oath have been so accurately investigated and explained by various authors[26] that I shall merely add one or two observations upon points which I do not remember to have seen noticed elsewhere. Either in the rituals or in the historians (in the first exactly, in the last in general terms) we can trace the oath and its successive changes, from the time of king Ethelred to the present day. The promises and oath of William the conqueror are thus related. In the chronicle of Walter Hemingford: "Requisitus Eborum archiepiscopus.. ad tuenda, conservandaque jura et privilegia ecclesiastica eum solemniter sacramentis astrinxit."[27] More fully by Hoveden: "... consecratus est honorifice, sed prius, ut idem archipræsul ab eo exigebat, ante altare S. Petri coram clero et populo, jurejurando promittens se velle sanctas Dei ecclesias, ac rectores earum defendere, necnon et cunctum populum sibi subjectum juste, ac regali providentia regere, rectam legem statuere, et tenere, rapinas injustaque judicia penitus interdicere."[28]

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[25] An ancient privilege of the king at his coronation was to nominate a nun to be received into certain abbeys; for example, Shaftesbury, Wilton, and Barking. The forms are given in the *Fœdera*, tom. 4. pars iv. pp. 152, 156.

[26] The student should consult Rymer, *Fœdera;* Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. 1; Prynne, *Signal loyalty;* Wharton, *Troubles of archbishop Laud*, p. 318; Taylor, *Glory of regality*, pp. 329–344.

[27] *Script. X.* tom. 2. p. 457.

[28] *Ibid.* p. 258. Concerning William Rufus see Eadmer, lib.

According to the modern orders it is expressly directed that the sovereign should sign the oath: and there is a remarkable passage in an epistle of Thomas a Becket to king Henry, which would seem to refer to a subscribed declaration or oath at his coronation. The archbishop is particularly alluding to that solemnity, and to the rite of unction. He reminds the king: "Inunguntur reges in capite, etiam pectore et brachiis, quod significat gloriam, sanctitatem, et fortitudinem . . . . audiat, si placeat, dominus meus, consilium servi sui, commonitionem episcopi sui, castigationem patris sui, ne cum schismaticis habeat de cætero aliquam familiaritatem vel communionem, nec contrahat aliquid cum eis. Memoresque sitis professionis quam fecistis et posuistis scriptam super altare, de servanda ecclesiæ Dei libertate, quando in regem consecrati fuistis."[29] A little before this time, we find a passage in a discourse by Peter Damian which will undoubtedly admit of an interpretation in support of the meaning which the language of the archbishop appears to convey. He says, "inaugurandum regem manu propria jurare libertatem ecclesiarum."[30]

Among the riches of the library of the British museum is a manuscript (Cotton, Tiberius A. ij) of the highest interest. It contains a Latin version of the four gospels: and the tradition is that it originally belonged to king Athelstan, and is the identical copy upon which, for several centuries, the

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1. an. 1087: of Henry the first (whose ordo will be often referred to below) Knyghton, *De event. Angl. Script. X.V.* tom. 2. p. 2396, and Giraldus Cambrensis, *De instr. principum; Anglia Christiana*, p. 43.

[29] Matt. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* p. 88.

[30] *Serm. in dedicatione ecclesiæ*, I.

kings of England took the coronation-oath. A full account of the volume, with the evidence in its favour, has been ably drawn up and published by the late Mr. Holmes.[31] I cannot say the proof is quite satisfactory; but one fact is certain, that, in consequence of its renown at that time and after some enquiry (we must conclude) into its history, this book was used at the coronation of Charles the first.[32]

I think there is clear evidence that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the coronation-oath was not taken, as perhaps very anciently and now in modern days, only upon the holy evangelists. The English manuscript order, which I have before mentioned,[33] thus directs: "Moreovir the kyng shall make his ooth in his coronacion vpon the sacrament of the auter, laide vpon the high awter of the chirche before the people." So the devyse for Henry the eighth: "' . . . all these things and euery of theym, I, Henry, king of Englande, promytte and conferme to kepe and obserue, so helpe me God, and thise holy euangelists by me bodily touched vppon this hooly awter.' And then the king shall ryse vp of his chayer, and by the seid bisshoppes of Exetour and Ely shall be ledde to the highe aulter. Wher he shall make a solempne oth vppon the sacrament leyde vpon the same aulter, in the sight of all the people, to observe all the premisses." And once more; in the order of the council (cited above) regarding the coronation of Edward the sixth we find both "the sacrament" and "the book" mentioned:

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[31] *Gentleman's magazine*, May, 1838.

[32] Ellis, *Original letters*, vol. 1. p. 214.

[33] See above, p. xxxviij. note 10.

"Then shall the king rise out of his chair, and by them that before assisted him, be led to the high altar, where he shall make a solemn oath upon the sacrament, laid upon the said altar, in the sight of all the people, to observe the premisses; and laying his hand again on the book, shall say;" etc.[34]

The Anglo-saxon oath of king Ethelred is printed by Hickes.[35]

The French oath of king Edward the third is as follows; from Rymer: "*Petit.* Volez vous graunter et garder, et par vostre serment confirmer, au poeple d'Engleterre les leys et les custumes a eux grauntees par les aunciens roys d'Engleterre voz predecessours, droitures et devotz a Dieu, et nomeement les leys, les coutumes, et les franchises grauntez au clerge, et au poeple, par le glorious roy Seint Edward vestre predecessour?

"*Respons.* Jeo les grante et promette.

"*Petit.* Sire, garderez vous a Dieu et seint Eglise, et au clerge et au poeple, pees et acord en Dieu entierment, selonc vostre poair?

"*Respons.* Jeo les garderai.

"*Petit.* Sire, freez vous faire en touz voz jugements ovele et droit justice et discretion, en misericorde et verite, a vostre poair?

"*Respons.* Jeo les frai.

"*Petit.* Sire, grauntez vouz a tenir et garder les leys et les custumes dreitureles, les quiels la communaute de vostre roialme aura esleu, et les de-

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[34] Burnet, *Hist. reform. records*, part ii. book 1. no. 4. The reader will observe that the order of swearing is contrary to that appointed for Henry the eighth.

[35] *Instit. Anglo-saxonicæ*. The original is preserved in the Cotton MS. B. xiij.

fendrez et afforterez al honure de Dieu, a vostre poair?

"*Respons.* Jeo les graunte et promette." *Fœdera*, tom. 2. pars 2. p. 172.

I extract also the form of the oath as it is appointed to be taken in English, according to the Devyse for Henry the eighth. And with this, generally, agrees the "Order" in the other English MS. 285:—

"The sermon ended, if any such be, the cardynall and the kyng that is to be corowned so sittyng as is abouesayd, the cardynall with an open and distincte voyce shall aske the king vndre this forme:

"'Will ye graunte and kepe to the people of England, the lawes and the custumes to theym, as of old tyme rightfull and deuoute kings graunted, and the same ratefye and conserue by your othe, and the spirituall lawes, custumes, and libertees graunted to the clergy and people by your noble predecessor and glorious kyng seint Edward?'

"The king shall aunswer, 'I graunte and promytte.'

"And when the kyng before all the people hath promytted truly to graunte and kepe all the premysses, then shall the seid cardynall open vnto hym the speciall articles, whereunto the kyng shall be sworn: the same cardynall seyng as foloweth:

"'Ye shall kepe after your strength and power to the Church of God, to the clergy and the people, hoole pees and goodely concorde.'

"The kyng shall aunswer: 'I shall kepe.'

"'Ye shall make to be done after your strength and power equall and rightfull justice in all your domes and jugements, and discrecion with mercy and trouthe.'

"The king shall aunswer: 'I shall do.'

"'Do ye graunte the rightfull lawes and custumes to be holden, and promytte after your strength and power such lawes, as to the honor of God shall be chosen by your people, by you to be strengthed and defended?'

"The kyng shall aunswer: 'I graunte and promytte.'"

In the Cotton MS. Vespasian C. xiv. is a copy of the oaths of fealty and homage to be taken by the spiritualty and temporalty of the realm; in French and English, of the latter end of the fourteenth century, the date of the *Liber regalis*. The following is the English form:—

"*Pour les seigneurs espirituels. Foiaultee.* 'I shall be trewe and feythefull, and feith and trowth shall bere to yow our liege lord, ye kyng of England, and to yowre heires, kynges of England, of erthely worship, for to leue and deye ayeins all maner folc, and . . . . shalle be entendant to yowr nedis aftir my connyng and power, and kepe your conseil, and trewly knowlech and do the seruices due of the temporaltees of my bisshopricke or abbaye of *N.* whiche I clayme for to hold of yow, and to yow and to yowr comaundements as mykel as falleth to me for my temporaltees, I shall be obeissant: so help me God, and all his halwes.'

"*Pour les serv^ces^ temporel. Homage.* 'I become yowr liege man of lif and of leme, and erthely worship, feithe, and trowth shall bere to yow, ayeins al maner of men y^t^ may lieue and deye. So help me God, and all his halwes.'

"*Pour les dames. Homage.* 'I do yow homage, liege, and faith, trowth and erthely worship y shall

here to yow, a fore all other creatures, for ye landes and tenements the whiche I clayme to hold of yow my liege lord. So help me God, and all his halwes.'"

The royal oath must have been a corporal oath, in whatever sense the reader may choose to regard the term. From the extracts below it will be seen that the chief authorities all refer this "corporal oath" to the touching of the consecrated host, or the corporal within which it was placed.[36] Yet in thus limiting the meaning of it they cannot but be in error, as may be proved from many passages in the mediæval English writers. For example, the following from Thorn's chronicle: "*Forma fidelitatis faciendæ.* Ego N. de C. juro ad hæc sancta Dei evangelia præstito corporaliter sacramento, quod fidelis ero," etc.[37] This may not be so clear as other examples; viz. "Et hii omnes et singuli recognoscebant eundem ordinarium,—et ipso instanti sponte canonicam obedientiam in scriptis, et inspectis sacrosanctis evangeliis eidem abbati corporaliter fecerunt."[38] Again; some three hundred years earlier,

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[36] Johnson (Todd's edition) cites Brand's *Popular antiquities:* "The phrase corporal oath is supposed to have been derived —not from the touching of the new Testament, or the bodily act of kissing it, but from the ancient use of touching the *corporale,* or cloth which covered the consecrated elements."

Richardson in his very valuable dictionary cites Junius: "*Corporale,* quo Domini corpus, i. panem consecratum tegebant;" adding, "corporal oath, from the custom of touching this corporal."

We must not omit Lyndwood: "Corporale namque juramentum requirit tactum, nec sufficit levare manum versus ecclesiam vel altare vel aliam rem sacram. Immo corporaliter debet tangi cum manu, si habeat: alias cum lacerto, vel humero, vel capite, non autem cum pede." Lib. 2. tit. 5, Presbyteri, *verb.* et inspectis.

[37] *In script. X.* tom. 2. p. 1966.

[38] *Ibid.* p. 1976. Upon "inspectis sacrosanctis evangeliis"

at a synod in Wales held to consider a case of sacrilege and murder, the six guilty persons gave lands to the see of Llandaff: "Determinatis hiis omnibus divino judicio surrexit episcopus in medio, et omnes steterunt juxta eum, tenentes evangelium, et ait ad Nougui, 'Pone manum tuam super hoc evangelium;' et extendit Nougui manum super evangelium, dicens," etc.[39] The oath which Richard the third took, that he would restore to the widow of king Edward her daughters if they came out of sanctuary, ran in this form: "I, Richard, ... promitte and swere *verbo regio* upon these holy evangelies of God by me personally touched."[40] Once more, the case of a certain vicar of Faversham who refused to perform his duty, "post canonicam obedientiam pro vicaria sua ad sancta Dei evangelia corporaliter præstitam."[41]

Nor are there wanting numerous examples in the chronicles of the other form of taking the "corporal oath." I quote two of these from Walsingham:

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it is well to quote Ducange: "id est, non tactis sed coram ipsis, quemadmodum jurare solebant episcopi et sacerdotes: nam episcopi *supra sacra jurare* vetantur, in concilio Meldensi, an. 845." I cite also the following from the same author: "Per evangelia juraturos manus prius abluisse ex Chrysostomo refert Suicerus in thesauro eccles. v. εὐαγγέλιον, ubi antiquum et usitatum per proposita evangelia jurandi morem probat ex Palladio ad Lausum," etc. *Glossarium*, v. *Jurare inspectis sacrosanctis.*

[39] *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 223.

[40] Harleian MS. 433. fol. 308. So, also, Sir John Williams swears in 1552 to the correctness of the inventory of goods plundered from the abbeys, by his "corporal othe." *Monastic treasures*, p. 9.

[41] *Script. X.* tom. 2. p. 1979. To these I may add a foreign constitution cited by Mr. Dansey, in his book on rural deans, p. 135: "Tactis corporaliter sacrosanctis evangeliis in publico corporaliter subeant sacramenta." *Const. Siculæ*, l. 1. tit. lix.

"Celebrata solemni missa, dictoque ter Agnus Dei, adjecto Dona nobis pacem, dictus Carolus in præsentia prædictorum et aliorum plurium, dexteram super patenam cum corpore dominico, et lævam super missale posuit, hæc verba proferens: Nos Carolus juramus ad sacrosanctum corpus Domini et evangelia firmiter servare," etc.[42] The missal in this instance was evidently sworn upon, not as a missal or with any reference to the *Te igitur* or canon, but as containing the gospels: and I cannot but conceive that other cases which have been produced of swearing "super Te igitur" or "super librum missalem" are to be understood in the same way, although Ducange seems to have supposed the contrary. Again, from Walsingham; a Carmelite friar in the reign of Richard the second "obtento aditu ad regale colloquíum, porrexit schedulam, jurans in sacramento corporis Christi, quod ipse eodem die celebrando confecerat, nullum verbum fore falsum," etc.[43]

The authorities who have been quoted in the note above are probably hasty in deciding that the term "corporal oath" is to be referred to the *corporale:* because there is no evidence that that ornament was the thing always touched, but, on the contrary, it was sometimes removed and the consecrated eucharist itself was touched. The two examples from Walsingham, especially the first, would have induced us to have concluded this: and I am able to refer to an illumination, of the time of the reign of king Richard the second, which sets the question at rest. In the British museum, among

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[42] *Hist. Angl.* p. 175. [43] *Ibid.* p. 309.

the Harleian manuscripts[44] is a French metrical history of the deposition of that sovereign: in the course of it, the earl of Northumberland offers to take his corporal oath: "Then replied the earl, 'Sire, let the body of our Lord be consecrated. I will swear that there is no deceit in this affair; and that the duke will observe the whole as you have heard me relate it here.' Each of them devoutly heard mass: then the earl without farther hesitation made oath upon the body of our Lord."[45] There is a representation of this circumstance. The earl is kneeling before the altar, upon which are placed a gilt chalice and below it the host, exposed; upon which last the earl places his right hand.[46] I hope that the reader will pardon this digression, and consider it not altogether foreign to the subject of my dissertation.

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[44] MS. 1319.

[45] This is from the translation of the history printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xx, with many illustrative notes.

[46] The celebrant is vested in a violet coloured chasuble, with narrow gold stripes.

CHAPTER III.

IN the first rubric of the *Liber regalis*, which is printed below in the appendix to the order of coronation, the following passage occurs: "provideatur quod in aula regia majori sedes eminens sit, pannis sericis et inauratis decenter ornata, super quam dictus rex regnaturus cum omni mansuetudine et reverentia elevetur."

This ceremony has been supposed to have been derived from the more ancient customs of the northern nations, and many curious particulars, especially some relating to Sweden, have been collected by Mr. Taylor; who continues thus: "Perhaps the point in our English ceremony which is most analogous to the gothic elevations is that of our kings being anciently placed upon a seat in Westminster hall, which was thence denominated the king's bench. This ancient seat, which occupied the upper end of the great hall, was appropriated to the administration of justice by the sovereign in person, or by the judges of his court, to which it gave the title of the court of king's bench."[1] The

[1] "At the upper end of this hall is a long marble stone of twelve feet in length and three feet in breadth. And there also is a marble chair, where the kings of England formerly sate at their coronation dinners; and, at other solemn times, the lord chancellor: but now not to be seen, being built over by the two courts of chancery and king's-bench." Stow, *Survey of London*. The chief point is here omitted in Stow's statement about the coronation-feast: the seat was used, as a ceremony, before not after the procession to the abbey. It was used at the feast, doubtless,

same writer gives the following examples of the sovereign being placed in this chair. Of Richard the second, from Rymer:[2] of Richard the third, who according to Speed and Stow went in great pomp unto Westminster hall and there in the king's-bench court took his seat; as the Croyland chronicle relates: "se apud magnam aulam Westmonasterii in cathedram marmoream immisit." And Grafton says more plainly of the same king, "he came downe out of the white hall into the great hall at Westminster, and went directly to the kings-benche."[3] To these I would add one more from Rastell, of Edward the fourth: "He was brought into Westmyster, and there toke possessyon of the realme. And syttynge in the seate royall, in the great hall of Westmyster, with his septer in his hande, a question was axed of all the people, yf they wolde admitte hym to continue as kynge: to the whiche, with one voyce, all the people cryed there, Ye."[4]

Again, from the manuscripts in the British museum before cited: "*The King's see.* Also it must be ordeyned that in the day of the kyng's coronacyon in the grete halle of Westmynster, the kyng's see bee rially ordeyned and tressid with clothis of silke and golde, and ryall quysshyns and tapets:—in the whiche the prynce shall sit abydyng the procession."[5] Once more, from the Devyse for Henry the

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but not as a circumstance of the solemnity, properly so called. See Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 105.

[2] I extract the passage itself from Rymer: "Mane autem facto surrexit rex, et . . . . egrediens de camera sua, descendebat in prædictam magnam aulam: . . . . et, sedente rege in sede sua regali, ibidem paraverunt processionem suam." Tom. 3. pars iij. p. 63.

[3] Vol. 2. p. 115.

[4] *Chronicle*, p. 274.

[5] "Maner and forme of a coronacion." Lansdown MS. 285.

eighth: "He shall come yerely, as it is founden in presidents, by vj. of the clok from his chambre into Westm. hall. Where he shall sytte vnder cloth of estate in the marble cheyer apparelled with clothes and quysshyns of clothe of golde baudekyn, as it apperteyneth.—And it is to remembre, that the king's benche and all the place of the chauncerye be apparailed vndre feete vppon the raylls and along vppon the walls, with rede worsted."[6]

The actual communion of the sovereign after the coronation requires one or two brief remarks. One point has been long doubtful in the modern coronation services: namely, whether the crown ought to be removed before receiving the communion. In the order for George the third there was no rubric: and it is said, nor do I see any reason to doubt the fact, that when the king approached the altar in order to receive the sacrament he enquired of the archbishop, "Whether he should not lay aside his crown?" that the archbishop asked the bishop of Rochester, but neither of them knew nor could say what had been the right form. The king, with his usual piety, determined within himself upon the fitting course which he should pursue: he took off his crown and humbly laid it aside during the administration of the communion. The archbishop (Secker) possibly had not examined any other order than that immediately preceding, of George the second, where, in like manner, no direction was given upon this matter: at least, it is certain that he took, and naturally, that order for his guide; because the copy which he used is preserved at Lambeth, interlined and corrected with his own hand.

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[6] Cotton MS. Tiberius E. viij.

I have not been able to learn what was really the fact at the coronations of king George the fourth and of William the fourth and queen Adelaide. There is no rubric in their services regarding the removal of the crown before communion; and it is a curious circumstance, that some personages[7] who were present and close by, on one or both occasions, assure me that they do not recollect whether the crown was laid aside or not.[8] But in the order for the coronation of queen Victoria (as the reader will see below) there are these rubrics: and, at whose wish or recommendation soever they were at length introduced, we cannot but admire the reverence and religious feeling which thus decided the question. "*The Queen*," says the rubric, "*descends from her throne—and goes to the steps of the altar, where, taking off her crown, she kneels down.*" And again, the communion having been received, "*The Queen then puts on her crown, and taking the sceptres in her hands again, repairs to her throne.*"

As regards the coronations before that of George the second we know that there was no celebration

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[7] Among them, the late archbishop Howley and bishop Denison.

[8] A thin folio volume was published in 1821, with the official "imprimatur" of the lord "Howard of Effingham, acting for the earl marshal of England," entitled, "The ceremonies to be observed at the royal coronation of his most excellent majesty, K. Geo. IV." I should be inclined to suppose that these ceremonies were (as much as possible) observed, but cannot state exactly what authority this document had, in opposition to the order of the service itself. Upon the section headed "The holy sacrament" it says, ". . his majesty will then descend from the throne, and go to the altar, where, taking off his crown, his majesty," etc. And again: ". . at the conclusion . . the king will put on his crown," etc.

of the communion in the case of James the second. But if archbishop Secker had thought of examining the records of Charles the second's coronation he would have found that then the crown was removed. "After the offertory, . . the king kneel'd before his ffaldstool, and layd his crown vpon the cushion at his right hand; . . (after communion) the king arose, putt on his crowne," etc.[9] If we go far back into earlier ages we shall find nothing which can lead us to suppose that the contrary was then the practice, although we may not be able to bring forward a decisive rule upon the point. Thus, as Matthew Paris relates it, we might be led to conjecture that the crown was not removed at the third coronation of Henry the second: "Apud Wigorniam coronatus est: ubi post celebrationem divinorum sacramentorum coronam super altare posuit, nec ultra coronam portavit."[10] But it is of this very coronation that Hoveden tells us of the king and queen Eleanor, in a place already cited: "ubi cum ad oblationem venirent deposuerunt coronas suas, et eas super altare obtulerunt."[11] It may be said that this does not prove much; but I understand the statement to mean, not merely that they made an oblation of their crowns, but that they did so at the proper and accustomed time of removing them, that is, before the offertory; when the most solemn part of the mass was about to begin.

We find therefore that in the twelfth and in the seventeenth centuries the custom probably was to remove the crown. I am doubtful as to what was

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9 Walker, *Account*, &c. p. 118. 10 *Hist. Angl.* p. 81.

11 See above, p. xx.

observed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Devyse for Henry the eighth positively says that "the king crowned shall be ledde as above, and shall offre," etc.; nor is mention made, though the details are minute enough, of any laying aside of the crown at the receiving afterwards.[11] So in the account of Henry the sixth the crown is plainly directed to be set upon his head, just before the communion, not to be removed until afterwards, before St. Edward's shrine. But with respect to this last case the king for some cause or other, it is said, was "dyspoiled" of his proper coronation robes immediately before the mass and pontifically vested. "They rayde hym lyke as a bysshop shuld say masse, with a dalmatyk and a stole about his necke. And also as hosyn and shone and copys and gloves lyke a bisshopp. And then agen they set seynt Edwardes crowne on his hede." All the orders (I may observe) which have been quoted speak particularly at this part of the ceremony of "St. Edward's crown:" but the reader must decide whether it is probable that in the course of time some peculiar sanctity was attributed to that crown, or that it was intended as in the case of Henry the sixth to complete, instead of a mitre, "the pontifical array."

Until the order of king William the fourth it had been always directed that "a towel of silk" or "houseling cloth" should be held before the king, during the receiving of the communion. The rubric was then omitted nor was it restored in the order of queen Victoria. In the account of the coronation

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[11] Nor in the "form," etc. Lansdown MS. 285.

of Henry the sixth we find that "the cardynall and the other bisshoppes helde the towell;" in the Devyse for Henry the eighth that "two of the grettest estates then present held before the kyng and the queene a longe towell of silke."

The kings of France and the emperors have long been permitted to communicate in both kinds, upon the solemnity of their coronations; and probably this, which has in modern times been rather looked upon as a concession or a favour from the court of Rome,[12] is but a continuance, which would not suffer

[12] "Tandem post unctionem receptam communicare posse imperatorem sub utraque specie præcipue in die inaugurationis suæ, et in articulo mortis, ex bulla Clementis VI. refert Carrier tomo 2." Catalani, *In pontif. Rom.* tom. 1. p. 388. "Tradit Spondanus ad annum 1352, Clementem VI. pontificem maximum, ob ingentia coronæ Franciæ in sedem apostolicam merita, Christianissimis regibus potestatem fecisse, sub utraque specie, quandocunque id optarent, communicandi; eos tamen illa potestate raro, nec nisi die inaugurationis suæ, et in viatico mortis, uti consuevisse." *Ibid.* p. 400. "Quibusdam tamen ex privilegio concessa est communio sub utraque specie, ut regibus Francorum in sua coronatione." Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* vol. 2. p. lxiij.

I am not aware of any certain proof that the kings of France availed themselves of this privilege, except possibly for some short time at an early period. Among the treasures of the museum of antiquities at Paris the chalice is still preserved, which is said to have been used for many centuries at the French coronations. It is one of the most splendid antique cups in the world: agate and superbly mounted. It was probably made about the middle of the first century, and is carved in high relief with masks and Bacchic emblems. Charles the bald gave it, in the ninth century, to the abbey of St. Denis: and happily it escaped destruction at the first revolution. The chalice is not of the kind or shape which would be used for consecrated wine; but very probably held the wine and water which the king received after his communion of the host. See *Ancient liturgy*, on lay communion.

should be performed. Since the reign of Edward the confessor this has been fixed at Westminster, a rule which was only broken upon extraordinary occasions or when the ceremony, as we have seen above, was repeated. But in more ancient times other places received that distinction—Kingston-on-Thames, and Winchester; concerning which last-named city I would quote a passage from the Winchester annals, as it testifies to a very early coronation which I did not mention before, namely of king Egbert: "Revertens inde Wintoniam, mandavit omnibus majoribus regnorum quæ conquisierat, ut convenirent ad illum die certo Wintoniam: veniunt Wintoniam clerus et populus, et assensu omnium partium coronatus est Egbertus in regem totius Britanniæ."[18]

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conquest, the "Peace of the Church" was extended to the eight days which the coronation solemnities were to occupy. "Die quo primum coronatus est, quæ dies tenet octo." *Leges ecc. S. Edw. regis;* Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 312. The law itself speaks of this as the "pax regis," but it is clear from the third law that it was the same as that with the more usual title "pax Dei et sanctæ ecclesiæ." In the same and the succeeding century the publication of this Peace to be strictly observed under pain of excommunication, at certain periods of the year, became frequent. See Knyghton, *De event. Angliæ, Script. X.* tom. 2. p. 2356; Hoveden, *Ann.* p. 343; Wilkins, tom. 1. p. 585; Lyndwood, lib. v. tit. xvij, Auctoritate Dei, *verb.* pacem. The usual periods specified were, from advent to the octave of the epiphany; from septuagesima to the octave of easter; from ascension-day to the octave of pentecost; the ember-weeks; from vespers on all saturdays, until the monday; on the greater saints' days, and their vigils; in parishes, on the feasts of their patron-saints; and upon all occasions of going to dedications of churches, to synods, or chapters.

[18] Cotton MS. Domitian A. 13; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 1. p. 205. The annals go on to say, "Edixit, illa die, Egbertus ut insula in posterum vocaretur

Next, as to the right of consecrating the new sovereign. This has always been claimed by the archbishops of Canterbury. In proof of this claim and of the allowance of it the evidence of an historian, who was probably born before the conquest, has been appealed to by almost every writer on the subject. He is relating the coronation of William the first and that it was not, as according to ancient usage, performed by Stigand archbishop of Canterbury. His words are: "In nativitate Domini unctus est in regem apud Westmonasterium a beatæ memoriæ Ealredo archiepiscopo Eboracensi, et nonnullis episcopis Angliæ. Quam consecrationem licet ipse rex et omnes alii optime nossent debere specialiter fieri, et proprie a pontifice Cantuariensi, tamen quia multa mala et horrenda crimina prædicabantur de Stigando qui eo tempore ibi pontifex erat, noluit eam ab ipso suscipere, ne maledictionem videretur induere pro benedictione."[19] About forty

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Anglia, et qui Tuti vel Saxones dicebantur, omnes communi nomine Angli vocarentur." This assertion has been credited by some writers, but rejected by others: whether true or false, it does not affect the fact of the coronation of king Egbert at Winchester. A charter in the *Textus Roffensis* gives Egbert the title "rex Anglorum." p. 97.

[19] *Hist. Nov.* p. 6. I am not concerned with the true reason, why Stigand was not permitted to consecrate the king: the "horrenda crimina" of Eadmer might probably without much difficulty be made to shrink down into less serious political offences. Bromton, in his chronicle, declares that Stigand himself refused to perform the ceremony: and Malmesbury, who follows Eadmer in representing the interference of the archbishop of York to have been caused by the king, yet speaks of Stigand's disability as having been produced only by censures from the court of Rome; which had favoured the conqueror's invasion. The reader may consult Collier, *Eccl. hist.* vol. I. p. 237:

years afterwards when Henry the first was crowned by Maurice bishop of London and by Thomas archbishop of York the king wrote a letter to archbishop Anselm, explaining the necessity of allowing no delay of the ceremony, because of the claim upon the crown which would probably be made by his elder brother, Robert. The letter is printed among the epistles of St. Anselm.[20] In the succeeding century, on occasion of the coronation of king John, the right of the archbishop of Canterbury was no less recognised: which is clear from the fact that a protest was made on the part of the archbishop of York that the solemnity should not be, unless he also was present; and the protest was disregarded. "Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus coronavit, et consecravit in regem Angliæ præfatum Johannem, ... Philippo Dunelmensi episc. appellante, ne coro-

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and, I am bound to add, for an unfavourable character of Stigand, Malmesbury, *De gestis*, p. 46.

Since the above note was written in 1846, the admirable *History of the Norman conquest* by Mr. Freeman has been published. The reader must refer to the account there given of William's coronation, vol. 3. p. 555.

[20] Lib. 3. No. xlj. Henry, the son of Henry the second, was crowned in his father's lifetime. A full account is given of his coronation and of the coronation feast by Matthew Paris. The ceremony was performed by the archbishop of York, "contra prohibitionem papæ" (St. Thomas of Canterbury being then in exile): and shortly afterwards the bishops who assisted were suspended "ab episcopali officio." "Cum autem piæ memoriæ Theobaldus Anglorum regi coronam imposuerit, ac per hoc Cantuariensis ecclesia quasi possessionem hujus dignitatis habuerit, vos nunc novi regis coronationi, archiepiscopo non præmonito, in ejus provincia ministerium præbere præsumpsistis." *Hist. Angl.* ann. 1170. See also the bull, in the *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 460.

natio illa fieret in absentia Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ primatis."[21]

I must extract a document of the reign of Richard the second which does not plainly acknowledge *the right* of the archbishop. This is the royal mandate to the primate to attend at the coronation: "Richardus, Dei gratia, etc., venerabili in Christo patri Simoni, eadem gratia archiepiscopo Cantuar. totius Angliæ primati salutem. Quia firmiter credimus et speramus, quod, accepto coronationis et consecrationis munere, summi regis potentia virtuosa in regimine populi regni nostri de bono semper in melius diriget actus nostros ac nos, die Jovis in crastino translationis sancti Swythini prox. futur. apud Westm. proponimus, auctore Domino, coronari; vobis mandamus, firmiter injungentes, quod hujusmodi coronationis nostræ solenniis, dictis die et loco celebrandis, personaliter intersitis. Et hoc, sicut nos et honorem nostrum diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste meipso," etc.[22] This "breve regium" is interesting and important in several respects; but the reader ought to hesitate before he attributes much weight to the omission of which I have spoken. For there was no likelihood at that time that the archbishop would not be able to attend, and personally exercise his right; nor is it the kind of document in which, necessarily, this privilege would be specially noticed and acknowledged. Again, there is an earlier summons, A. D. 1308, by Edward the second, in a case

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[21] Hoveden, *Annal.* p. 451. See also, in the reign of Henry the third, a similar claim repulsed: *Chron. Peterb.*, an. 1226, Sparkes, p. 68.

[22] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 3. p. 119.

where the archbishop was abroad, and the right is not only clearly enough acknowledged but, if he could not return, he was required to nominate his deputy: "Et, si forte, aliquo casu contingente, vos, quod absit, contigerit impediri, ita quod die et loco prædictis, non poteritis vestram præsentiam exhibere, tunc vices vestras alicui de vestris suffraganeis committatis, qui officium, quod in coronatione nostra prædicta vobis incumbit, exequatur, et exerceat vice vestra."[23]

It is not necessary however to heap up evidence upon this prerogative of the metropolitan see, and I shall merely add that archbishop Parker strongly insists upon the right of the primate to appoint a deputy: he cites also this case of archbishop Winchelsey, but without giving any authority. After enumerating other privileges he continues: "præter dictas eminentias et prærogativas, etiam reges a Londinensibus et Wintoniensibus episcopis, archiepiscopis Cantuariensibus mortuis vel absentibus, tanquam eorum vicariis, in coronatione ungi et sacrari solebant. Qua ratione Edwardus rex ejus

[23] Rymer, *Fœdera*, tom. 1. pars iv. p. 111. I cannot omit the following from a royal letter to the pope, upon this same case of archbishop Winchelsey: "Et quia regum Angliæ coronatio ad archiepiscopum Cantuar. qui pro tempore fuerit, pertinet, et pertinuit ab antiquo; nosque," etc. *Ibid.* p. 105. Compare also the form in which the archbishop of York was summoned: in the same words as other bishops, and abbots. *Ibid.* p. 108.

And somewhat more than a hundred years before, the same privilege of the see of Canterbury was recognised and insisted on by the court of Rome: a bull of pope Alexander the third, in 1170, begins with the assertion, "quod coronatio regis Angliæ et inunctio ad Cantuar. archiepisc. de antiqua ecclesiæ suæ consuetudine et dignitate pertineat." *Quoniam ad audientiam, Bullarum coll.* tom. 2. p. 407.

nomine secundus ab Henrico Woodlock Wintoniensi episcopo consecratus fuit, absentis archiepiscopi mandato; quod Robertus Winchelsey tum archiepiscopus ab exilio, in quod ab Edwardo primo actus erat, nondum reversus fuerat; ut in vita ejusdem Roberti deinceps declarabitur."[24] The passage in the life is equally direct, to the same purpose: "Cum Edwardus secundus corona regia consecrandus esset, Wintoniensis episcopus tunc archiepiscopi vice, ejus absentis literis et speciali mandato, in rege consecrando functus sit."[25] So, when speaking of the coronation of queen Mary by bishop Gardiner without a delegated authority from archbishop Cranmer: "Regina Maria... a Gardinero Winton. episcopo, sine expresso jure aut exemplo, quoniam ea res ad metropolitanum spectabat, uncta regnoque initiata est."[26]

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[24] *De antiq. Brit. eccl.* p. 31.

[25] *Ibid.* p. 312.

[26] *Ibid.* p. 509. Holinshed relates a case very much to the point, but he does not state his authority, and I do not see that it is noticed either by Matthew of Westminster, or Malmesbury, or Huntingdon. But thus it is: "Some write, that Elnothus, the archbishop of Canterbury, a man endued with all virtue and wisdom, refused to crown him [Harold, A. D. 1036]: for when the king required the said archbishop that he might be of him consecrated,—to whom only it did appertein to invest him with the crowne and scepter,—the archbishop flatlie refused, and with an oth protested, that he would not consecrate anie other for king, so long as the queen's children lived. The sceptre and crowne I here lay downe vpon the altar, and neither do I denie nor deliuer them unto you: but I forbid by the apostolike authoritie all the bishops, that none of them presume to take the same awaie, and deliuer them to you, or consecrate you for king." *Chronicles*, vol. 1. p. 182.

As soon as archbishop Parker's book was finished, a little volume was published by the puritans, with this title, "The life off the 70. archbisshopp off Canterbury, presentlye settinge, englisbed, and to be added to the 69,

I must not omit to mention that archbishop Parker claims, as another privilege of his see, the right to marry the sovereigns and princes of the realm of England. Speaking of this right, he notices another point bearing immediately upon the subject of this dissertation. He says: "regias etiam nuptias Cantuarienses archiepiscopi conjungunt, et benedicunt. Cum enim in Windsoriæ castro, quod in Salisburiensi diœcesi situm est, Salisburiensis episcopus episcopali jure, tanquam in propria diœcesi, in Henrici regis primi cum Atheleida Godefridi Lotharingiæ ducis filia nuptiis, sacrorum celebrationi se audacter ingessisset; ab omnibus proceribus acclamatum est, hoc jus Cantuariensium archiepiscoporum esse proprium: regesque ac reginas, ubicunque in Anglia degerent, ejus esse speciales atque domesticos, ut Gervasius diserte loquitur, parochianos, totumque regnum etsi diversis diœcesibus distinctum sit, ratione primatus ejus esse parochiam. Atque hæc adeo vera sunt, ut regiæ procerumque oblationes, sive in regio sacello, sive in quacumque ecclesia

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lately sett forth in Latin. This numbre off seuenty is so compleat a number as it is great pitie ther shold be one more: but that as Augustin was the first, so Matthew might be the last." Then follows the life of Parker, as written by himself, translated. But to our present subject, I extract what the puritan author says of this privilege just spoken of in the text: "From this steppe he clymeth vppe another, yet higher, that the kinges off this realme are crowned, and made by him, as that which off right is properlie due unto him." sign. D. v. Thus merely repeating the archbishop's statement, without an attempt to disprove it. Some idea of this publication may be gathered from the title which it gives to the first archbishop, namely, "the hellish Augustine." It is a matter of congratulation that this, with many more of the same kind written by the Elizabethan puritans, is among the most rare books of the time.

cathedrali, conventuali, vel parochiali, præsente archiepiscopo inter sacra factæ, nec illius diœcesis episcopo, nec conventui aut capitulo, nec ipsi sacelli regii decano, nec parocho, aut alteri cuicunque, sed archiepiscopo Cantuariensi soli debeantur. Nam in his quæ ad divinum cultum in principis aula pertinent, præcipua semper fuit cura atque solicitudo archiepiscopi." [27]

This privilege, if correct, would entitle the archbishop (I presume) to the oblations made by the sovereign at a coronation. I was told however by the late archbishop Howley that he did not claim the oblations at the last two solemnities: perhaps, from not remembering the statement made by archbishop Parker; perhaps from a desire not to assert claims which might possibly be disputed or to insist upon matters of secondary although, in their kind, of considerable importance. The only memorial (or "fee" as it is called) allowed to the archbishop was the chair he sat upon. For my own part, I regret that the right to the oblations was not also remembered and, at least, duly considered if not ultimately pressed.

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[27] p. 40. The archbishop cites as his authority Gervase of Canterbury, "*in act. pont. Cant.*" Bromton also in his chronicle relates the same occurrence but without the particulars introduced into the text, and which unquestionably very much modify the features of the case, as given by him: "Rex Henricus .... consilio totius Angliæ apud Wyndesore congregato, Adelinam filiam Godefridi duxit solemniter in uxorem: ubi Radulphus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus ad iracundiam et paralisim plurimum inclinatus episcopum Sarisberiensem ad officium desponsationis peragendum sacris vestimentis cedere coegit indutum, et Wentano episcopo officium delegavit." *Script. X.* tom. I. p. 1014.

Lastly, I would observe upon the various orders which, either in the text or notes, the reader will find in this volume, that they will enable him to trace the coronation service of the realm of England from the present time back to the eighth century; a period of eleven hundred years. No other church or country can produce a series so complete. Selden[28] complained that although he had found many particulars in our old historians, he yet could not venture upon their warrant to construct the ceremonial. He appears to have known of no ancient coronation ritual of the English church, except the imperfect volume in the Cotton library, containing the order of king Ethelred. This, though a fragment only, he printed: and he attempted to compensate for what he wanted by the form appointed in the modern pontifical of the church of Rome, abounding, as the student may easily assure himself by a comparison, with very numerous and important variations from the old English use; and by the coronation service of king Charles the fifth of France, also having many variations. I trust that the deficiencies of which that learned writer complained are now supplied.

It would not be right to speak of the coronation service which I have edited in this volume as "of the use of Sarum," although taken from the pontifical of that church: nor, in like manner, of the same service as according to the use of Winchester or Exeter. Those churches at the periods when the particular copies of their pontificals were written, now at one time now at another, adopted and in-

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[28] *Titles of honour*, p. 149.

cluded, according to its then state, this office which formed one of the chief duties of the bishops of the church. The coronation service was always "according to the use of the church of England:" or, on account of its high privilege as the place where the solemnity was to be performed, "according to the use of the church of Westminster." So also in modern times the coronation service must be regarded as "according to the use of the reformed church of England."[29]

The earliest state in which we find the order, as it was in the pontifical of Egbert archbishop of York in the eighth century, is different indeed from that in which it was last left, upon the occasion of the coronation of her present Majesty. The alterations, whether of omission or addition, have been made very gradually: and it is probably true that there has never yet been a coronation without the service being subjected to some change, either for the better or the worse. The records of Ethelred, Henry the first, Edward the second, and Richard the second prove this, no less than those of James the first or George the first or queen Victoria.

With respect to the authority by which the coronation service from time to time has been revised and approved, I am able to state as to the late

[29] It could scarcely be improper to attach the coronation service to the Common Prayer book and in the authorised form, according to which it had last been used. People would then consider a coronation (more justly than many now do) not as a civil but as a religious solemnity; and would regard their sovereign not only as a Person crowned but as a Person intended to be reverenced as sacred and anointed. At present it is so difficult to obtain a copy of the service that it is probable they know very little about the subject.

occasions, upon information derived from the highest source, that an order of council is directed to the archbishop of Canterbury who, according to his own judgment, prepares a "Form and Order." On the one hand, doubtless, due attention must be paid to the expressed wishes of the sovereign on particular points; upon the other, those wishes ought always to be well considered, lest rites and ceremonies should be too hastily omitted which, from a constant observance of them through a long series of generations, may claim the character of being essential to the right performance of a ceremony so high and solemn. Few people would deny that some changes scarcely called for were introduced upon the accession of king William the fourth. But that was a time when the outcry was extreme against anything bearing the impress of antiquity; and it is moreover possible that there were then reasons why certain alterations should be made, which now might not be regarded as of much weight or value.

CHAPTER IV.

HAVING thus spoken of the coronation service I would now make some remarks upon another office, also royal, which not unfrequently is found in the pontificals; namely, "De exequiis regalibus:" as it is added in the Rawlinson manuscript c. 425 in the Bodleian, "cum ipsos ex hoc sæculo migrare contigerit." I have not printed this, which consists solely of a single rubric, as the reader will find it in the first volume of this work, in the *Commendatio animarum*. The paragraph beginning "¶ Deinde si corpus regis inuncti fuerit" and ending "honestissime tradatur sepulturæ" is the same with the office "De exequiis regalibus" when it was placed separately in the pontificals. In the manuscript from which the episcopal services, edited in these volumes, are taken, this office is inserted upon a blank leaf at the end of the book by a somewhat later hand. It forms a part of the *Liber regalis*, preceded by an illumination.

A curious and valuable order in English has been published in the *Archæologia*;[1] which I transcribe: "What shall be don on the demyse of a king annoynted.

"When that a king annoynted is decessed, aft' his body is sp'ged, it must be washed and clensed

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[1] Vol. 1. p. 348.

by a bishop' for his holy annoyntem^{t}, than the body must be bamed, wrapped in laun, or reynez yf it may be gotyn, than hosyn, cherte, and a perer of shone of rede lether, and do on his surcote of cloth, his cap of estate on his hed, and then ley hym on a fair borde cou'ed with cloth of golde, his on hand on his bely and a sep'r in the toder hande, and oon his face a kerchief, and so shewed to his noblez by the space of ij. dayez and more yef the weder will it suffre.

"And when he may not godely longer endur, take hym away and bowell hym, and then eftones barnē hym, wrappe him in raynez wele trameled in cords of silke, than in tarseryn tramelled, and than in velvet, and so in clothe of gold well tremelled, and than led hym and cofre hym, and in his leed w^{t} hym a plate of his stile, name, and the date of our Lord gravyn, and yef ye cary hym, make an ymage like hym clothed in a surcote w^{t} a mantell of estate, the laces goodly lying on his bely, his sept'r in his hande, and a crown on his hed, and so cary hym in a chare open w^{t} lights and baners, accompanyed with lords and estates as the counseil can best devyse, having the hors of that chare trapped with diu'se trappers or elles w^{t} blake trappers of blake with scochons richely betyn, and his officers of armes aboute hym in his cotes of armez, his herneysz upon hym, his salet or basenet on his hed crowned, a shylde and a spere till he come to the place of his ent'ring."

There appears to be but little difficulty in understanding this order, whether in the Latin or English, except upon one point—as to the covering of the face: "oon his face a kerchief" says the latter; and

the former, "postmodum caput cum facie ipsius sudario serico cooperiatur." But a chief object of the ancient lying in state certainly was that the sovereign might be known by his subjects to be dead; and an English account of the obsequies of king Edward the fourth, attached to the same manuscript from which the extract above has been taken, declares that the corpse was exposed not only with the face but with the greatest part of the body naked, "openly x. or xij. hourez, that all the lordes both spirituell and temp'ell sawe hym so leying, and then he was sered."

To this fact we have frequent reference in the old chronicles. Concerning Richard the second it is not surprising that many writers notice it; as it was pretended afterwards that he was still alive. Four contemporary authors speak of it: Otterbourne,[2] Walsingham,[3] Hardyng,[4] and Froissart. The last says, that the king lay at Cheapside full two hours, his head on a black cushion and his face uncovered.[5] So with respect to Henry the sixth, we are told that after his death "on the morrow he

[1] "Ea pars saltem corporis, per quod cognosci poterat, facies scil. ab ima parte frontis usque ad guttur." p. 222.

[2] p. 363.

[4] p. 357.

"At poules his masse was done
and diryge,
In hers royall semely to royalte,
The kyng and lordes clothes of
golde there offerde,
Some viij. some ix. upon his hers
were proferde."

[5] Vol. ii. p. 762. In spite of these proofs some people would not believe that it was, after all, the body of the king. See, for example, the French metrical history of Richard's deposition, quoted above; where the author declares, p. 221, "I certainly do not believe that it was the old king; but I think it was Maudelain, his chaplain, who so exactly resembled him," &c. But this Maudelain was known to have been publicly executed before in London. Walsingham, p. 363.

was chestyde [coffined][6] and brought to St. Paul's, and his face was open that every man might see him."[7] Again, Rastell leads us to conclude that such was the case even with the neglected corpse of Richard the third.[8]

But the reasons for exposure which were of importance in these cases could not have been considered with regard to Edward the fourth already mentioned, and others, incidentally noticed presently; we must suppose, therefore, that the covering of the face directed in the rubric was not to take place until after sufficient time had previously elapsed for recognition by the people. We have no difficulty in proving that the other parts of the order were generally observed, and I select a few examples.

Of Edward the confessor his biographer tells us: "Parantur interim regales exequiæ, pretiosis lintheis et optimis palliis corpus involvitur, pauperes Christi eleemosynis sullevantur."[9] Before his time we

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[6] "He is nowe dede, and nailid in his cheste,
I prey to god, so geue his soule reste."
Chaucer, *The clerk's tale*, l. 7905.

[7] *Chronicles of the white rose*, p. 131.

[8] p. 299.

[9] Ailred abbas, *Script. X.* tom. 1. p. 402. In the account of the first translation of the body we have some further particulars: "Primum deinde pallium quo sacratissima membra fuerant involuta, pristinam venustatem et integritatem reservasse conspiciunt. . . Extracto pallio cætera ornamenta vestesque considerant, et omnia solida invenerunt et integra." *Ibid.* p. 407. In almost modern times (in the reign of James the second) the tomb of the confessor was broken, it was said accidentally, and the head of the corpse was found to be surrounded with a narrow diadem of gold. A crucifix of pure gold was also, it was asserted, found under the shoulder blades, with a gold chain: this was taken away by the person who discovered it, and given to king James. A pamphlet was

learn concerning king Edgar, but not from a contemporary and therefore the reader must draw his own conclusion from the phrase; "corpus vero illius Glastoniam delatum regio more est tumulatum."[10] Shortly, however, after the Norman conquest[11] we have authenticated cases, and the details of various particulars. Thus, most of the historians mention the neglect with which, immediately after death, the corpse of Henry the second was treated; and the bleeding which burst forth on the approach of his son Richard.[12] Giraldus Cambrensis (no partial friend, and one who would not have complained of the omission of any token of respect, except those usual or absolutely necessary) says: "In crastino vero, cum ante altare principale corpus sepulturæ traditur, vix annulus digito, vix sceptrum manu, vix capiti corona sicut decuit, quia de aurifrigio quodam veteri inventa fuit, vix ulla prorsus insignia regalia nisi per emendicata demum suffragia, eaque minus congruentia, suppetiere."[13] Lastly, I must quote Matthew Paris; and as my object here is not to

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published, relating the circumstances; but there is very much in it that is suspicious, and I cannot help disbelieving the whole history. The author, "Chas. Taylour, Gent." (the plunderer himself), assures us that "it is highly remarkable that the crucifix should have been found on that day whereon the late rebellion began in the west, and much about the same hour in the afternoon when they landed." This was Monmouth's enterprise. The pamphlet is a 4to., London, 1688.

[10] Hoveden, *Annals*, p. 244 *b*.

[11] For a circumstance said to have occurred at the burial of the conqueror himself, "expleta exsequiarum solemnitate," see Hemingford, *Chron.* cap. xi. p. 461, and Matt. Par. *Hist.* p. 11.

[12] See, among others, Knyghton, *Chron.*, *Script. X.* tom. 2. p. 2400; Hoveden, *Annal.* p. 372 *b*.

[13] *De instructione principum*, p. 158, edit. *Anglia Christiana*.

reconcile apparently conflicting statements of chroniclers, I shall merely observe that the discrepancy between him and Giraldus does not seem to amount to more than that Paris does not record the difficulties which were in the way of procuring the requisite regal ornaments: "In crastino autem dum portaretur ad sepeliendum, regio indutus apparatu, coronam in capite habens auream, et chirothecas in manibus, calceamenta auro texta in pedibus et calcaria, annulum magnum in digito, et in manu sceptrum, accinctusque gladio, discooperto vultu jacebat."[14]

Concerning the younger Henry, who died during his father's lifetime, Matthew Paris says: "Corpus autem in lineis vestibus, quas habuit in consecratione sacro chrismate delibutas, regaliter involutum."[15] Of king John we learn, from the same historian, not only that his body "regio schemate ornatum ad Wigorniam delatum est;" but also that "abbas canonicorum Crokestoniæ peritissimus in medicinis, facta anatomia de corpore regio, ut honestius portaretur, viscera copioso sale conspersa, in sua domo transportata, honorifice fecit sepeliri."[16]

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[14] *Hist. Angl.* p. 126. Giraldus (I may add) positively asserts in another work that the king was buried without any regal ornaments. *De vita Galfridi, archiep.*, in Wharton's *Anglia sacra*, tom. 2. p. 382.

[15] *Ibid.* p. 117.

[16] *Ibid.* p. 242. I cannot say that the reader of the old chronicles will be amused, for the subject is too solemn, but he will be interested with the various speculations which he will find in many of them as to the condition, after death, of the soul of king John; the "impius Iohannes" of the chronicle of Lanercost. At least, they tell us a fearful tale of the miseries and calamities of his subjects, and the popular accusation of himself as the immediate cause. Even concerning king Stephen, of whose

It was usual also to remove the brain; and there is a rather curious circumstance recorded concerning

reign the Saxon chronicle has given us such a terrible description, I do not remember to have met with any similar remarks. Matthew Paris' own opinion is doubtful: "Sperandum est autem, et certissime confidendum, quod quædam bona opera, quæ fecit in hac vita, allegabunt pro eo ante tribunal Jesu Christi;" and he specifies the good deeds which he could recollect; "construxit enim abbatiam Cisterciensis ordinis de Bello loco; et moriturus domui de Crokestuna decem librarum terram contulit opulentam." p. 242. He relates however, more hopefully as it were, the vision of a monk some ten years after; to whom the dead king appeared: "Quem monachus recognoscens, ac memoriter recolens, quod mortuus fuisset, sciscitabatur ab eo, qualiter se haberet. Cui rex: ita me habeo, quod nemo pejus. Nam hæc mea quæ vides indumenta, adeo ardentia sunt et ponderosa ut nullus qui in sæculo vivit, illa tangere sufficeret præ ardore, vel propter ponderositatem portare, quin protinus moreretur. Sed tamen per Dei clementiam spero et gratiam ineffabilem—me quandoque misericordiam adepturum." *Ibid.* p. 280. The vision of another monk, told us by Walter Hemingford, gives a contrary view of the matter; *Chron.* cap. cvij. From these and other passages it would seem that the doctrine of purgatory and the condition of the soul after death was less settled in the middle ages than it now is. Thus, we read in Matthew Paris of the soul of a certain clerk enduring punishment: "et cum inquirerem, utrum misericordiam se aliquando consecuturum speraret, respondit: væ mihi, væ mihi, scio quod ante diem judicii omnino misericordiam non merebor: an autem vel tunc, incertum habeo." p. 157.

The chronicles and religious books of the middle ages are full of descriptions of the pains of purgatory and hell. These are utterly unfounded except on imagination; and no less to be condemned than some very silly and mischievous publications, miscalled Catholic, in our own days on the same subject.

We find in manuscripts illuminations illustrating the pains and punishments. These are to be found also in some early printed books. Few such can compare with the woodcuts in the book already mentioned once or twice in vol. I, "The manner to live and to die well." These woodcuts were republished in more than one book afterwards: particularly, in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, of which there is an

Henry the first. I take the account from Henry of Huntingdon: "Rex namque Henricus obierat: cujus corpus allatum est Rotomagum, et ibi viscera ejus et cerebrum et oculi consepulta sunt. Reliquum autem corpus—coriis taurinis reconditum est causa fœtoris evitandi, qui multus et infinitus jam circumstantes inficiebat. Unde et ipse, qui magno pretio conductus securi caput ejus diffiderat, ut fœtidissimum cerebrum extraheret, quamvis linteaminibus caput suum obvolvisset, mortuus tamen ea causa pretio male gavisus est."[17]

A part of the will of king Richard the second has reference to this point: "Item volumus et ordinamus quod corpus nostrum in velveto vel sathano blanio, more regio, vestiatur, et etiam interretur, una cum corona et sceptro regiis deauratis, absque tamen quibuscumque lapidibus: quodque super digitum nostrum, more regio, annulus cum lapide pretioso ponatur."[18]

The English order quoted above directs an image of the dead king to be made: and this, for example, was done for Henry the fifth: "Superposita namque fuerat cistæ, in qua corpus ejus habebatur, quædam imago staturæ et faciei regis mortui simillima, clamyde purpurea satis longa et larga cum furrura de ermyn induta, sceptrum in una manu, et pila rotunda aurea cum cruce infixa in altera, corona aurea in capite, super capellum regni, et sandalis

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edition containing them so late as about the year 1600.

[17] *Historiarum* lib. viij. p. 221*b*. The archdeacon of Huntingdon rather unkindly adds, "Hic est ultimus e multis, quem rex Henricus occidit." See also *Ibid.* p. 276; Hemingford, *Chron. Angl. script.* tom. 2. p. 479; Matt. Paris, *Hist.* p. 61.

[18] Rymer, *Fœdera*, tom. 8. p. 75.

regiis in pedibus impositis."[19] Among the records in the chapter-house at Westminster is an original minute of council for the ceremonial of the funeral of queen Catherine of Aragon; in which, among other matters, it is ordered that there should be provided "a cast or puffed ymage of a princesse apparailled in her robes of estate, wt a cronall uppon her hed in her heare, wt rings, gloves, and juells upon her handes."[20] So, also, some few years earlier we find in a contemporary manuscript account of the obsequies of Elizabeth of York that after the corpse had been "chested" and carried into the choir of Westminster abbey, "there was ordeyned an image or a personage like a queene clothed in the very roabes of estate of a queene, having her very rich crowne on her head, her heire about her shoulders, her septer in her right hand, and her fingers well garnished with gould and precious stones."[21] In the will of Henry the seventh full directions are also given for the making of an image of timber, covered and wrought with a plate of fine gold and other decorations, to be placed after his funeral in the shrine of St. Edward at Westminster.

These "effigies" were commonly placed upon the tomb afterwards, coloured to represent life and habited in the proper costume and vestments of the

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[19] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* p. 407; Holinshed, vol. 3. p. 584.

[20] Printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. 16. p. 23. The ceremonial is directed not for "queen" Catherine but for "the right excellent and noble princesse the lady Catherine,—late wief to the noble and excellent prince Arthur," etc.

[21] Printed in *Antiq. repert.* vol. iv. p. 654.

day. Or they were replaced by others of a more lasting material which, where they have been spared to us, still furnish some of the most valuable witness of its kind to which it is possible for us to refer. Who is there, having once seen it, who does not remember the most noble and beautiful figure of queen Eleanor, upon her tomb in the confessor's chapel in Westminster abbey?[22]

When there was need to bring the royal corpse from a distance to the place of sepulture it was customary at the various places, commonly abbeys, where the body rested to meet it with solemn processions: and also, at the entrance of the towns through which it passed. For instance, when Edward the first died: "post principis prædicti decessum, venerabilis pater dominus Petrus cardinalis, et clerus Angliæ, cunctique regni nobiles, qui interesse poterant, obviam corpori undique occurrerunt, solemnes processiones, ad quas venerat, per ecclesias faciendo."[23] Very probably the corpse was not carried further upon the succeeding day until after mass for the dead had been said. We may conclude this, I think, from Walsingham's statement as to Richard the second: "Cujus corpus per loca celeberrima—ubi contigit pernoctare, monstratum est post officium mortuorum, et in crastino post missam peractam."[24]

Before closing these remarks upon the order "de exequiis regalibus" the reader should be reminded that in various modern antiquarian publications

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[22] Engraved in Stothart's *Monumental effigies*.

[23] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* p. 95.

[24] *Ibid.* p. 363.

there are accounts of the opening and examination of royal tombs, which fully prove that the rubric was generally both carefully and accurately observed. One of the most interesting of these accounts is that of the opening of the tomb of king Edward the first in the year 1774. In which, passing by the state of the body itself we find that it "was wrapped up within a large square mantle, of thick linen cloth, diapered, and waxed on its under side. The head and face were entirely covered with a *sudarium*, or face cloth, of crimson sarcenet,—formed into three folds. When the folds of the external wrapper were thrown back and the *sudarium* removed, the corpse was discovered richly habited, adorned with ensigns of royalty.—Its innermost covering seemed to have been a very fine linen cerecloth, dressed close to every part of the body, and superinduced with such accuracy and exactness, that the fingers and thumbs of both the hands had each of them a separate and distinct envelope of that material.—Next above the cerecloth was a dalmatic, or tunic, of red silk damask; upon which lay a stole of thick white tissue, about three inches in breadth, crossed over the breast, and extending on each side downwards, nearly as low as the wrist, where both ends were brought to cross each other. [This stole is minutely described to be jewelled and embroidered.]—Over these habits is the royal mantle, or pall, of rich crimson satin, fastened on the left shoulder with a magnificent *fibula* of metal gilt with gold.—The corpse from the waist downwards is covered with a large piece of rich figured cloth of gold, which lies loose over the lower part of the tunic, thighs, legs, and feet, and is tucked down behind the soles

of the latter. There did not remain any appearance of gloves: but on the back of each hand lies a quatrefoil.—Between the two forefingers and the thumb of the right hand, the king holds a sceptre with the cross made of copper gilt.—Between the two forefingers and the thumb of his left hand, he holds the rod or sceptre with the dove:—the stalk is divided into two equal parts, by a knob or fillet, and at its bottom is a flat ferule.—On the head of the corpse, which lies within a recess hollowed out of the stone coffin, is an open crown or fillet of tin, or laten, charged on its upper edge with trefoils, and gilt with gold. — On a careful inspection of the fingers, of both hands, no ring could be discovered: but we may conjecture, that on the shrinking of the fingers, the royal ring had slipped off, and buried itself in some part of the robes, none of which were disturbed in order to search for it.—The cloth was not removed from the feet, so it is uncertain whether they have sandals on them or not."[25]

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[25] *Archæologia*, vol. 3. p. 376, &c. These volumes are not common, and I need scarcely apologise for the length of the above extract. People will of course form their own judgment as to the propriety of opening any tombs or graves whatever: if the occasion justifies such an undertaking and if it be conducted with all possible solemnity and care, not with irreverent handling or from idle curiosity alone, I must confess that it would appear to rest upon reasonable grounds. One thing is very certain; that prying into graves is not of modern date, but that we have many ancient examples. A long and curious account of the opening of the coffin of St. Edmund, in 1240, is in a manuscript in the British museum; Julius D. vj. fol. 154. Other instances must be traced to something very like mere curiosity; as in the case of the prior of St. Augustine's in the time of Henry the third, who opened the tomb of St. Augustine, to satisfy himself that the body actually was there. Thorn,

CHAPTER V.

THE offices in this volume, after the order of Coronation, are those which relate to the ordination of priests, deacons, subdeacons, &c., and to the consecration of bishops. We have here, however, a subject of enquiry before us so vast and branching out into so many collaterate questions that I almost fear to enter upon it at all, in the necessarily confined limits within which I must keep. I propose therefore to do little more than lay before the reader some collections from the English councils and canonists, much in the same way as in the

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Chron., Script. X. tom. 2. p. 1876.

In the *Anglia sacra*, tom. 2. p. 227, is printed the official account, drawn up at the time, of the opening of the supposed tomb of archbishop Dunstan at Canterbury in the year 1508. There were found some bones; and an inscription which, though much relied on by archbishop Warham in proof of the identity of the remains, seems to me to cast very considerable additional doubt upon the fact, and somewhat more than a suspicion of collusion. The inscription was "Hic requiescit sanctus Dunstanus archiepiscopus:" and it was argued that the tomb had never been disturbed. A correspondence followed between the archbishop and the monks of Glastonbury who had claimed, for some centuries, possession of the body: and the reader will be repaid by a careful perusal of the whole matter. It is an unhappy exposure of ignorance and superstition on the part of the country-people, of something very like deceit in the monks, and partiality in the archbishop: who settled the dispute by declaring that, if the convent of Glastonbury would not withdraw their claim, he would excommunicate all persons who should presume to visit their pretended relics.

dissertation in the first volume, bearing upon and il lustrating the rubrics and ceremonies of the service themselves. Other matters, of no little interest will be found discussed in the notes attached t the services.

There is plenty of evidence that before the six teenth century the English church regarded orders[26] as one of the seven sacraments; and when using her ordinal she echoed the words of St. Ambrose "homo imponit manus, Deus largitur gratiam sacerdos imponit supplicem dexteram, Deus bene dicit potenti dextera."[27] A synod of Durham, in the year 1220, in its canon "de numero sacramen torum" first specifies five, and then continues: "du vero sequentia sunt ordo et conjugium, nec omnium licet quorundam, nec per eorum virtutem peccat dimittuntur, sed in eorum altero, scilicet in conjugic peccatum fornicationis vitatur; in altero, scilice ordine, quorundam virtutes augentur."[28] Again, th

[26] "Ordo" when we meet with the term in the fathers may be understood in at least two ways, according to the context: either for the sacred rite itself of ordination, or for the ecclesiastical hierarchy and various degrees of the ministers of the Church, which last would seem to be its original and most strict interpretation. In this sense, St. Augustine declares: "ordo est parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio." *De civit. Dei*, lib. xix. 13. 1. In the former sense we are to understand the Latin *ordinatio*, or *sacra ordinatio*, and the Gree χειροτονία or χειροθεσία. The defi nitions of which by the canonist may be reduced to this: "Ritu sacer seu sacramentum, qu spiritualis potestas confertur sa cramenta conficiendi et minis trandi, cæteraque ecclesiastic munia pro jure obeundi."

[27] *De dignitate sacerdotali*, cap 5: see also his treatise *De Spirit. sancto*, lib. 1. cap. 5. 1; St. Chry sostom, *De sacerdotio*, lib. 3. § 4 and St. Augustine, *Contr. Par men.* lib. 2. cap. 13.

[28] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1 p. 574.

famous synod of Exeter in the year 1287: "est et septimum sacramentum, sc. ordo; nam, sicut in veteri testamento sacrificia offerebantur, non per quoscunque, sed vocatos a Domino; ita nec in novo, nisi per ipsos, qui ad hoc sacros susceperint ordines, ecclesiastica sacramenta poterunt dispensari."[29] So also Lyndwood in his gloss upon a constitution of archbishop Peckham: "*Ordo.* Istud est unum de duobus sequentibus [i.e. sacramentis] et sextum in numero, alias connumeratis præcedentibus: et nota quod ordo, prout est sacramentum ecclesiæ ut hic, est signaculum quoddam per quod spiritualis potestas traditur ordinato. Secundum *Thomam* istud sacramentum pertinet ad generationem spiritualem."[30] And once more, the *Pupilla oculi:* which begins with the enumeration of seven sacraments, of which the fifth is "ordo:" and presently has several chapters "de sacramento ordinis."[31]

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[29] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 2. p. 130: cf. p. 295, a canon of a synod at Winchester, A.D. 1308, and cardinal Pole, *Reform. Angl.* fol. 9 *b*, edit. Aldus, 1562.

[30] Lib. 1. tit. 7, Ignorantia, *verb.* Ordo.

[31] The *Pupilla oculi*, once a very famous book, is now exceedingly rare and but little known; nor do I know that it has been printed since the reformation. As I have had occasion to quote the work frequently the reader will not object, probably, to seeing the full title: from which he will be able to form some judgment as to the contents; and the value of them, as a record of the practice and opinions of the clergy of the English church during the middle ages: "¶ Pupilla oculi, omnibus presbyteris præcipue Anglicanis summe necessaria: per sapientissimum divini cultus moderatorem, Johannem de Burgo, quondam almæ universitatis Cantabrigien. cancellarium: et sacræ paginæ professorem, necnon ecclesiæ de Colingam rectorem; compilata anno a natali Dominico, M.ccc.lxxxv. In qua tractatur de septem sacramentorum administratione, de decem præceptis decalogi, et de reliquis ecclesi-

There is not the same ease in arriving at the decision of the English church as to the number of the various orders. This, in fact, has always been an open question in the western Church: nor, as one might have supposed, did even the council of Trent set it at rest. Her canon is: "Si quis dixerit, præter sacerdotium non esse in ecclesia catholica alios ordines et majores et minores, per quos velut per gradus quosdam in sacerdotium tendatur, anathema sit."[32] In this decree a via media has been taken, so as not to condemn the Greek church upon the one hand nor the old schoolmen on the other. Moreover, some old and grave controversies are left undecided; for example, how many and what these "ordines majores et minores" are; whether they are all of Divine institution; whether all are of the nature of a sacrament, and equally so; whether all equally impress a character

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asticorum officiis, quæ oportet sacerdotem rite institutum non ignorare; jam primum accuratissime castigata, atque tersissime in lucem edita. Impensis honestissimi ac fidelissimi mercatoris Wilhelmi Bretton." Paris, Wolfgang Hopylius, 1510, sm. folio. Another edition before me is by Regnault, Paris, 4to. 1514.

I may add that a "Pupilla" is referred to earlier than this of De Burgo, in a sentence of excommunication settled by a provincial council at York, A.D. 1311. See Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 2. p. 414.

Another book of the same kind was the *Manipulus curatorum:* in which, as the first sentence declares, "pernecessaria officia eorum quibus animarum cura commissa est breviter pertractantur." This was frequently printed by both Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson. It treats of the sacraments, the articles of the faith, and the ten commandments. A copy of the *Manipulus curatorum* was among the books left "for ever" to the parish church of Scarning in Norfolk by Jerome Crowe, rector. *Norwich diocesan register*, 1507. I shall have occasion to refer to the book as we proceed.

[32] Sess. xxiii. can. 2: comp. cap. ii. of the same session.

upon the person ordained; and others of the like kind.[33]

Theologians who denied that there were only seven orders increased the number sometimes to eight, by adding the episcopate; sometimes to nine, by adding the tonsure; and others would even make a tenth, by distinguishing the archbishops of the church.[34] The chief difficulty rested with the episcopate: whether bishops were to be considered as distinct from priests, not merely in the degree of their office but in its nature.

There are so many duties common to both bishops and priests that we may regard the two degrees as but one order: both are ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God; both are invested with the cure of souls; both are sent to teach and preach the gospel of Christ; to baptize; to bless the congregation; to absolve; and, above all, to celebrate the eucharist: but there still remains the very high power attached to the one only, of sealing with the holy Spirit in confirmation and of conferring orders. The balance of authority, even from the earliest ages, certainly inclines to

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[33] The *Catechismus ad parochos*, however, does not speak with so much hesitation: "Docendum erit, hosce omnes ordines septenario numero contineri, semperque ita a catholica ecclesia traditum esse, quorum nomina hæc sunt," etc. And it accurately distinguishes between the greater and the minor orders; p. 199, *edit.* Aldus, 1566.

[34] Morinus, *De sacr. ordin.* pars 3. exercit. 3. cap. 1; where are collected the various authorities on the different points of the question. I cite a place from St. Isidore (who appears by it, also, to have included the tonsure) as illustrating the term *clericus:* "Omnes qui in ecclesiastici ministerii gradibus ordinati sunt, generaliter clerici nominantur." *De eccles. off.* lib. 2. cap. 1.

consider the episcopate as an order to be identical with the priesthood and the completion of it. This may mainly be attributed not so much to the fact that many offices are common to both as that the highest office and power is so; namely, that of consecrating the holy eucharist.

The opinion in the Anglo-saxon age, generally, seems to have been that the number of orders was limited to seven. A little before the beginning of the eighth century we find a constitution of which the first words are, "Septem sunt dona Spiritus sancti, et septem gradus sunt ecclesiasticorum ordinum et sacrarum functionum."[35] Again, in the canons of Ælfric: "Seven degrees are established in the church—the sixth diaconus, the seventh presbyter."[36] Once more, in the pastoral epistle of the same Ælfric: "Beloved, seven orders are appointed in books [on bocum] for God's ministries in Christ's church."[37] Against these, we have the following in the ecclesiastical institutes about the same period, in the chapter "de munere et dignitate sacerdotum:" "Ye ought also to know, that your orders are the second orders after our orders, and the next to us; like as the bishops are in the stead of the apostles in the church of the holy, so are the mass-priests in the stead of Christ's disciples."[38]

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[35] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 62.

[36] Thorpe, *Ancient laws and institutes*, vol. 2. p. 347.

[37] *Ibid.* p. 379. Again, almost immediately after, in the same, in plain words: "Beloved, understand that both are of one order, the bishop and the mass-priest, that is, of the seventh church order, as holy books tell us."

[38] *Ibid.* p. 403. With this agrees a rubric in the pontifical of Egbert, in which the episcopate is distinguished from the priesthood, and the minor order of

For later opinions I must content myself with quoting, first, the *Pupilla oculi:* "Septem sunt ordines sive gradus: et sic loquendo de ordine, ut est sacramentum, et characterem imprimit;—prima tonsura non est ordo sed dispositio quædam ad ordinem.—Episcopatus autem non est ordo proprie, sed dignitas, sive excellentia in ordine, tum quia non imprimit characterem, tum etiam quia omnis ordo ordinatur ad sacramentum eucharistiæ."[89] And secondly, Lyndwood: "Ut volunt theologi quasi omnes, solum sunt septem ordines. Unde secundum eos, tonsura, quæ vocatur psalmistatus, non

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acolytes is omitted. On the other hand, the office itself includes the acolytes.

[89] Pars vij. cap. 1. C. The author of the *Manipulus curatorum* is decided against reckoning the tonsure as an order, but he continues: "De episcopatu vero utrum sit spiritualis ordo dubito." Lib. 5. cap. ij. And Guillermus Parisiensis, *De vij. sacramentis*, draws a distinction similar to that laid down in the *Pupilla*, saying also that the episcopate presupposes the priesthood and depends upon it; fol. xij *b*. But he does not clearly decide the point, that is, in his own opinion. I quote this book, as it was also in much estimation among the English clergy of the fifteenth century. Compare also the *Parochiale curatorum*, tit. 9. cap. vj. edit. 1514.

The later judgment of Catholic theologians seems inclined to consider the episcopate as a distinct order: see Perrone, *Prælect. theol.* vol. viij. p. 126; Dens, *Theologia*, tom. 7. p. 39. But Thomas Aquinas plainly said, "episcopatus non est ordo." In 4. sect. dist. 24. q. 2. art. 2. And Bonaventure: "episcopatus, prout distinguitur contra sacerdotium, non est proprie nomen ordinis, nec novus character imprimitur, nec nova potestas datur, sed potestas data ampliatur." *Opera*, tom. 5. p. 369. Bellarmin takes a middle line between the two extremes. He reckons seven orders and, dividing the priesthood, declares that ordination to the episcopate is a sacrament, confers grace, and impresses a character. *Opera*, tom. 3. p. 609. Compare Bonacina, tom. 1. disp. viij. p. 219.

est ordo sed solum dispositio ad ordines:[40] sic etiam episcopatus, secundum eos, non est ordo in quantum sacramentum, sed dignitas. Ordo namque sumitur multipliciter. Nam aliquando est nomen dignitatis, et sic episcopatus dicitur ordo: aliquando est nomen officii, et sic psalmistatus dicitur ordo: aliquando est nomen spiritualis potestatis, et sic diaconatus dicitur ordo."[41]

As an office, there is no evidence that the "modus faciendi tonsuras" can be traced higher than the seventh century. Hence we do not find any prayers or forms in the oldest manuscripts and sacramentaries "de clerico faciendo." Not that it can be disputed that the practice of distinguishing the clergy by their hair is of very high antiquity: first probably introduced to a moderate and seemly extent, for the sake of outward decency and gravity, according to the admonition of the apostles; after-

[40] So also Catalani on the pontifical: "Quamquam prima tonsura ordo non sit, saltem juxta theologorum sententiam, quia scilicet non est a Christo Domino instituta sed ab ecclesia, nec spiritualem potestatem confert ad ministerium aliquod ecclesiasticum obeundum, est tamen præparatio ad ordines suscipiendos, et quædam religiosa, ut ita dicam, ad cultum divinum deputatio." Tom. 1. p. 131.

[41] Lib. 3. tit. 1, Ut clericalis, *verb.* Ordinis. But compare lib. 1. tit. 4. Eos qui, *verb.* sacros ordines; where he enumerates eight. I may add here that it was not simply through humility, but probably as claiming their highest privilege, that we find bishops anciently styling themselves priests and ministers. Thus a letter of a bishop of Durham to king Henry the fifth is subscribed "Your humble preest of Duresme." Cotton MS. Vesp. F. xiij. fol. 29. And archbishop Becket, before his murder: "Clamavit aliquis, ubi est ille proditor?—aliquis alius; ubi est archiepiscopus? Ille; ecce ego, non proditor, sed presbyter Dei." *Vita S. Thomæ Cantuar.* p. 86. Compare Ralph de Diceto, apud *Angl. sacr.* pars 2. p. 691.

wards restricted within the limits of a certain fashion and shape. It is not difficult to trace the progress of these restrictions in the canons of successive councils, as time went on.[42] The reason why, about the time that I have mentioned above, the conferring of the tonsure came to be a separate and distinct office probably was because parents were then accustomed to dedicate their children to the sacred ministry, and to leave them in monasteries, at an age too young to permit of their performing even the lowest functions of ostiarius or lector: when, nevertheless, it was desirable that a mark should be set upon them, that they were no longer merely secular.[43]

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[42] Cf. Carth. iv. can. 44; Barcinon. c. 3; Toletan. 4. c. 40; and others cited by Morinus, p. 203.

[43] Whence the definitions of the canonists may be reduced to this: "*Tonsura;* cæremonia ab ecclesia instituta, qua laicus baptizatus, et sacramento confirmationis consignatus, sacro ritu in clerum instituitur."

Hittorpius includes in his collection "de divinis officiis" a very ancient ordo Romanus, probably of the ninth century. This contains two prayers "*ad puerum tonsurandum,*" which show at what an early age the tonsure was then given:—

"Domine Jesu Christe, qui es caput nostrum et corona omnium sanctorum, respice propitius super infantiam hujus famuli tui *N.* qui in tuo nomine sua celebrat vota, et capillos capitis sui tonsurat, ut per hujus benedictionis copiam, ad juvenilem venire mereatur ætatem, et cum gaudio ad futuram gloriam salvandus perveniat. Per.

"*Alia.*

"Benedic, Domine, hunc famulum tuum *N.* nostri oris alloquio, et tuo eum locupleta dono, ut felici vita concrescat, et semper tuo adjutorio floreat, vitamque suam honestissime perducat, et semper in mandatis tuis persistat. Per." p. 62.

The "caput nostrum et corona," etc. are a not unseemly address to our Lord with reference to the tonsure. Preceding these prayers the Ordo has another, which by the petition "tribue ei remissionem omnium

Many early writers have not hesitated to trace the shape and fashion of the tonsure up to the authority of St. Peter himself. For instance, Rabanus Maurus: "sunt quidam doctorum, qui asserunt, diversas ob causas Petrum apostolum hunc ritum primum sumpsisse primitus."[44] But long before his time Bede records an epistle of the abbot Ceolfrid, about the year 710, to whom an application had been made for an opinion concerning the variety of tonsures: who says; "inter omnes tamen, quas reperimus tonsuras, nullam magis sequendam nobis amplectendamque jure dixerim ea, quam in capite suo gestabat ille, cui se confitenti Dominus ait, 'Tu es Petrus.'—Neque vero ob id tantum in coronam attondemur, quia Petrus ita attonsus est;" etc.[45] And such would seem to be still the ac-

peccatorum" shows that the two just quoted were to be used for infants or children. In later times, if the rule of the canonists has been rightly arrived at, tonsure was not to be given at so tender an age nor before confirmation. See Saussay, *Panopl. cleric.* pars 1. lib. vj. cap. 3.

[44] *De instit. cleric.* lib. 1. cap. 3; *Bibl. patrum auct.* tom. 1. p. 546. See also Alcuin, cap. de tonsura; Amalarius, *De div. off.* lib. 2. cap. 5. Compare also the prayer or exhortation in the office below, beginning, "Oremus, dilectissimi."

[45] *Hist. ecc.* lib. 5. cap. 21. The excerpts however of his contemporary Egbert, although they recognise the tonsure of St. Peter, follow another common view taken by mediæval canonists: "Exordium tonsuræ a Nazaræis incepit, qui crine servato post vitæ magnæ continentiam caput radebant, ut devotionem Domino consecrarent." Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 111. I am not speaking of the varieties of the tonsure in that age, but of its supposed origin. The disputes which took place in the eighth century as to the proper shape of the tonsure are well known. That the clergy should be distinguished by their dress, from the rest of the people, to a moderate extent, is just and reasonable. Whether "tonsure" was a distinction of such a kind must depend of course upon the cus-

credited teaching of the Roman Catholic church, according to the Tridentine catechism: "Primum autem omnium, ferunt, apostolorum principem eam consuetudinem induxisse ad memoriam coronæ, quæ ex spinis contexta Salvatoris nostri capiti fuit imposita."[46]

Very probably in England, during the middle ages, the strict rules which were in force that a bishop should confer orders only within the limits of his own diocese, except with licence, did not apply to the giving of the tonsure. The common opinion of the canonists inclined to a liberty extending so far, and it was therefore generally exercised. One of the decrees of the council of Trent, at first sight, appears to have removed this privilege from bishops: "nulli episcopo liceat, cujusvis privilegii prætextu, pontificalia in alterius diœcesi exercere, nisi de ordinarii loci expressa licentia, et in personas eidem ordinario subjectas tantum."[47] But the later commentators understand this to have respect to the public wearing of the pontifical vestments on such an occasion; and that if performed privately the conferring of the tonsure is still permitted.[48]

In the old church of England not only bishops but priests by special permission or privilege, as in

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toms of the age, and the observance of it certainly sprang from a commendable zeal, receiving the sanction of ecclesiastical authority. Remembering however the arguments which each party produced, and the heat with which the controversy was pursued, it is to be lamented that such a subject should have been thought sufficiently weighty to divide the Church.

[46] p. 200. edit. Aldus.

[47] Sessio iv. *De reform.* cap. 5.

[48] Cf. Bonacina, tom. I. disput. viij. p. 224; and the expositions of Balsamon and Zonaras upon the 14th and 35th apostolical canons; Bevereg. *Pandect.* tom. I. pp. 9, 24.

the case of abbots, were permitted to confer the tonsure;[49] and even the minor orders. Thus, the *Pupilla* laid down: "episcopus et nullus inferior eo, potest ordines conferre auctoritate propria et ordinaria potestate. Alii vero non episcopi, ut abbates, ex privilegio vel speciali permissione possunt minores ordines conferre. Sacros autem solus episcopus."[50]

At a subsequent period we find the tonsure ordered to be given to those scholars who were to be educated at the expense of the cathedral establishments throughout the realm. The legatine constitutions of cardinal Pole divide these scholars into two classes, according to their age: and further direct: "Incedent autem omnes, utriusque sint classis, cum tonsura et vestitu clericali, eodemque vivendi modo utentur, et divinis in ecclesia officiis inservient."[51] We may conclude that this was not a new custom from what Knyghton says of the early years of archbishop Edmund, in the reign of Henry the second: "In primis annis, capitis dolore ita acriter vexatus est, ut in literis deinceps proficere

[49] This licence was granted to an abbot of Malmesbury, in 1379: and with it, the right to wear certain pontifical vestments, and to give the episcopal benedictions at mass. *Concil.* tom. 3. p. 142.

[50] Pars vij. cap. 2. A; compare cap. 1. C. Modern catholic writers limit this to cases of special dispensation from the see of Rome. There is a privilege extant of pope Innocent the eighth in 1489, giving to some Cistercian abbots power to ordain to the diaconate. This has been a great perplexity to the later canonists, and some deny that the privilege was really granted. See Henriquez, *Summa*, in add. ad lib. x. *de ord.*; Vuitasse, *de ord.* pars 1. 5. 2; Morinus, *Exercit.* xi. cap. 2; Hallier, *de ord.* tom. 2. p. 274.

[51] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 4. p. 125. The same archbishop, also, in the *Reformatio Angliæ* orders the like habit and tonsure, for the poor scholars; p. 24.

desperaret: cui mater ait: Fili, arbitror, laica et inordinata quam gestas tonsura doloris tui est causa; unde et postmodum clericaliter attonsus doloris incommodo caruit."[52] The same writer, relating the horrible cruelties of the Scotch in Edward the first's time, says: "quod auditu horrendum est,—parvos clericulos primas literas addiscentes ad numerum circiter ducentorum in scolis existentes, obstructis ostiis igne supposito concremaverunt."[53]

A few remarks may be added upon the tonsure, as observed by the minor or the higher orders. There are frequent canons directed against neglect or concealment of it. "We enjoin, that no man in holy orders conceal his tonsure" is the 47th of the canons under king Edgar.[54] Again, in the thirteenth century, some synodal constitutions of the diocese of Norwich: "Clerici vero non beneficiati, qui reprehensibiles fuerint in tonsura, ut ad superiores ordines, aut ad beneficium admittantur, quousque per tantum tempus tonsuram gesserint competentem, quo judicant præteriti temporis scandalum redemisse."[55] And the poems (so-called) of Walter Mapes, shortly before this time, make the contempt of the tonsure one token of the irreligious priest: "Hic generosior tonsuram despicit, alter ad clerici nomen erubuit." Like some men now-a-days, those priests of the middle ages desired to be in dress, as well as in their occupation and pursuits, as little

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[52] *De event. Angliæ, Script. X.* tom. 2. p. 2432.

[53] *Ibid.* p. 2488. See also an anecdote from Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, lib. viij. c. 18, cited in a note to Giraldus Cambr. *De instr. princ.*, edit. *Anglia Christiana*, p. 187.

[54] Thorpe, *Ancient laws*, &c. vol. 2. p. 255.

[55] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 735.

different from laymen as they could be: "Sic inter laicos clerus defloruit."[54] Lastly, one of the visitation articles for the diocese of London, in queen Mary's reign, enquires: "Item, whether they and every each of them doth go in priestly apparel and habit, having their beards and crowns shaven? or whether any of them doth go in laymen's habits and apparel, or otherwise disguise themselves, that they cannot easily be discovered or known from laymen?"[55]

It is quite clear from canons of English councils that there was a difference between the "tonsura" and the "corona;" although the two are frequently confounded, and sometimes both meant by the use of either term alone. When both are named, one must doubtless be understood to relate to the length of the hair, the other to the bare circle on the top

[54] *Apocalypsis Goliæ*, l. 329. That the evidence shown by the tonsure was to be easily recognised and not to be concealed is proved in more than one passage of the *Vision of Piers Plowman:* for example, speaking of parish priests (not in their praise) who have leave "in londone to dwelle," he says:—

"Bisshopes and bachilers, bothe maisters and doctors,
That han cure vnder cryst, and crownynge in tokne."
Pass. i. l. 85.

"Crownynge" being a common term used for the tonsure. Compare Pass. xiv. l. 113. See also Chaucer, *The Shipman's tale:*—

"To Saint Denis ycomen is dan John,
With crown and beard all fresh and new yshave."
l. 13239.

[55] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 4. p. 107. Compare the injunctions of cardinal Pole for the diocese of Gloucester; *Ibid.* p. 146. It is well known that to be reduced to a lay condition, as a punishment, involved the removal of the tonsure: and early in the eighth century we find this specified, among the excerpts of Egbert (citing Fructuosus), in the case of a criminous monk: "coronam capitis, quam gestat, amittat." *Ibid.* tom. 1. p. 105.

of the head—the shaven crown. Some canons directed to this point may be referred to. Of York, in 1195: "Statuimus etiam, ut clerici, qui ab episcopo coronam susceperunt, tonsuram habeant et coronam." Of the provincial council at Oxford in 1222: "ut nec ipsi, nec alii clerici comam nutriant, sed honeste tonsi et coronati convenienter incedant." Of a synod at Lambeth in 1261: "Item statuimus, quod omnes .... qui privilegio clericali gaudere voluerint, tonsuram decentem, et coronam rasi capitis deferant competentem."[56] The following support the distinction which I have suggested; a constitution of bishop Cantilupe in 1240: "*De clericorum tonsuris*. . . . nec crines, nec comam nutriant, sed decenter et circulariter tondeantur, coronam habentes decentis amplitudinis, secundum quod exegerit ordo, quo fuerint insigniti:" and a pastoral epistle of archbishop Morton; "incedent etiam omnes et singuli presbyteri, et clerici ejusdem nostræ provinciæ, coronas et tonsuras gerentes, aures patentes ostendendo."[57] Lyndwood has a gloss upon the provincial constitution cited above: "*Tonsi;* hæc tonsura sic fiet, ut aures sint patentes. Et hoc, si religiosus sit, altius: si sæcularis, dimissius. Et sic, quod inter presbyterum et alios inferiores sit

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[56] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. pp. 502, 589, 755; compare pp. 626, 716; tom. 2. p. 4; and tom. 3. p. 60. Also *Coronæ patentes*, tom. 1. pp. 382 and 551.

[57] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 670; tom. 3. p. 620; cf. p. 658. The corona "decentis amplitudinis" refers to the dimensions which, according to the use of some churches, were increased with each successive step in the sacred ministry: at least, as Lyndwood remarks in the text, the corona of the priesthood was distinguished from that of any lower order.

differentia. *Coronati;* rasura superior, et tonsura inferior, faciunt de circulo capillorum coronam."[68]

Before we proceed to other matters connected with this great subject of ordinations, I must again remind the reader that I shall be anxious to furnish him with a selection of extracts from the councils and authoritative books of the English church only, in number and in variety sufficient to enable him not merely to understand the offices which are here edited, but also the doctrines which were to be held and the practices which were to be observed regarding the clergy in general, from the Anglo-saxon age down to the sixteenth century. I shall but very rarely refer to authors who have treated the subject at large, such as Thomassin, or Saussajus, or Martene, or Morinus, or Catalani, and many others; not to mention the canonists, van Espen for example, or those who have directed their enquiries more particularly towards the eastern Church, as Goar and Habertus. I seek rather to supply the deficiencies which they have left respecting the decisions and observances of that portion of the Church of Christ with which we are more intimately concerned, namely, the ancient church of England.

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[68] Lib. 3. tit. 1, Ut clericalis. And compare J. de Athon, cap. Quoniam de habitu, *verb.* tonsuram.

If the student desires to investigate accurately the subject of the tonsure, its history, various fashions, the mystical reasons proposed for it, the laws and canons of the Church directed towards its proper observance and other details, he should consult Thomassin, *Ecc. discipl.* pars 1. lib. 2; Durandus, *Rationale*, lib. 2. cap. 1; Saussajus, *Panoplia cleric.* lib. 1. 2; and the less common ritualists, Alcuin, Amalarius, or the *Gemma animæ* in Hittorpius' collection, or in the *Auctarium* to the *Bibl. patrum*, tom. 1.

First, as to the preliminary examinations which were to be made before admittance into any of the orders, whether the greater or the minor. In the middle of the eighth century the sixth canon of the council of Cloveshoo is addressed to this point: "*De examinatione eorum qui ordinandi sunt.* Sexto statuitur decreto; ut episcopi nullum de clericis seu monachis ad sacrum presbyteri gradum ordinent, nisi prius ejus vitam qualis extiterit, vel tunc quæ morum probitas ac scientia fidei existat, manifeste perquirant." In the same century later, about the year 785; at the council of Chalcuith: "Sextum decretum: ut nullus episcoporum presbyterum aut diaconum ordinare præsumat, nisi probatæ vitæ fuerint, et officium suum recte implere possint." I pass over the intermediate time until the provincial council at Oxford in 1222: which in its canon "*de ordinibus et ordinandis*" prohibits, upon the authority of the ancient ecclesiastical statutes, "ut nullus ad ordines accedat aut admittatur, nisi qui fuerit canonice examinatus." Shortly afterwards the famous legatine constitutions of Otho were published: of which the sixth is: "*De scrutinio ordinandorum.* Sacer ordo eo est digno dignius conferendus, quo ab ordinato sacramenta cætera conferuntur. Quare cum periculosum sit minus dignos ordinari, statuimus, ut ante collationem ordinum per episcopum indagatio diligens habeatur." [59]

[59] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. pp. 95, 147, 595, 651. Johnson, having translated this last constitution in his ecclesiastical laws, adds a very senseless remark below it: I notice this because the same mode of reasoning is occasionally employed, when other means fail, by persons who have neither the learning nor the usual discretion of that writer. He says: "Here we

We find the same care taken up to the middle of the sixteenth century. The statutes of a provincial council in 1529 direct: "Statuimus et ordinamus, quod nullus clericus sæcularis de cætero admittatur ad sacros ordines, nisi habuerit literas testimoniales curati et œconomorum vel parochiæ, in qua natus, beneficiatus, vel per triennium proxime præcedens commoratus fuerit, sub sigillo archidiaconatus jurisdictionem habentis; seu, si in aliqua universitate studens fuerit, sub sigillo commissarii universitatis Oxon. seu vicecancellarii Cantabrig. cum testimonio superioris loci sui. . . . . Exacte etiam curent episcopi, ut neminem de cætero ad subdiaconatus ordinem promoveant, nisi eum qui adeo sit exercitatus in evangeliis et epistolis sacris, saltem in missali contentis, ut eorundem sensum grammaticalem examinatori prompte et expedite reddere valeat: sitque eorum quilibet sufficienter instructus etiam in aliis ad ordinem illum, quem tunc assumpturus est, per sacros canones requisitis, et in officiis divinis secundum morem ecclesiæ et

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may see the great carelessness which then prevailed in ordaining clergymen." The constitution just proves the very contrary. And if his inference is correct, we ought to conclude in a similar way from the canons of the Catholic church now and the often repeated admonitions of her bishops, that no care is taken in ordaining fit persons to the sacred ministry; or from the charge given by St. Paul to Timothy, that even in that early age men commonly were no less hastily ordained.

This constitution of Othobon is further remarkable, for the following provision: "ne reprobatis, qui fuerint reprobandi, approbatis se clanculo immiscere valeant reprobati, in examinatione scribatur numerus, et nomina probatorum; et qui scripti fuerint postmodum in ordinationis limine, perlecta scriptura discretione solita requirantur; ipsaque scriptura apud episcopum vel ecclesiam cathedralem conservetur."

loci consuetudinem promptus et expertus; habeatque præterea in presbyterum ordinandus cætera ad ipsius officium et ordinem ipsis sacerdotibus necessario requisita."[60]

The provincial canon cited above of the year 1222 was repeated in almost the same words, under archbishop Walter Reynold, one hundred years after: and upon this examination I extract Lyndwood's gloss: "De hac examinatione quando, per quos, et de quibus fieri debet, habes 24 *di. c. quando:* debet enim examinator inquirere de vita, genere, patria, ætate, institutione sive titulo ordinandi. Item de loco ubi conversatus est, de conscientia, fide et hujusmodi. Item de his quæ concernunt regulam apostolicam," etc.[61] "Hic nota, quod in ordinibus celebrandis primo fit examinatio, sc. per tres dies ante diem ordinum celebrandorum. Et tunc in die ordinum celebrandorum archidiaconus, vel examinator alius ad hoc deputatus, in actu celebrationis ordinum præsentabit episcopo ordinanti ipsos ordinandos."[62] The commentator of Otho, J. de Athon,

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[60] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 3. p. 718. Compare the canon of the convocation of 1557, *Ibid.* tom. 4. p. 159; and the sixth decree of cardinal Pole's *Reformatio Angliæ.*

[61] Lib. 1. tit. 5. *verb.* Canonice examinatus. The *Pupilla oculi* says: "Ordinandi non sunt rigide examinandi, sed summatim cum quodam temperamento, et non requiratur nimia perfectio. Tria vero in ordinandis potissime requiruntur: sc. literatura sufficiens, ætas legitima, morum honestas." Pars vij. cap. 3. G.

[62] *Ibid. verb.* Præsentatores. See Hostiensis, in *Summa*, cap. De scrutinio in ordine faciendo. This canonist was of high authority in the church of England, as appears from the frequent reference to him not only by Lyndwood, but also by the rubrics of the old service-books of the church. See, for example, the long rubrics at the end of the *Ordo sponsalium* in vol. 1. The *Pupilla* speaks of a double examination, in a passage of which

has a very ample gloss of great importance upon the legatine constitution cited above, to which I am forced to refer the student;[63] quoting only this, upon the word "periculosum:" "Sc. ordinanti, cum ordinat indoctum loco docti: magistrumque facit qui vix discipulus esse potuit. Is enim culpæ est reus, qui tali indigno ordinem, curam, vel officium committit. Unde episcopus scienter ordinans indignum dicitur peccare mortaliter.[64] Ratio est, quia infidelis est, etc. Item periculosum est decentiæ ecclesiæ in scandalo populari."

Not only were strict examinations insisted on

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the last part is worth the reader's attention: "Duplex scrutinium fieri debet ante ordinis collationem: primum debet fieri per archidiaconum. Vel per alios sacerdotes et viros prudentes, quos a latere suo mittet episcopus ad locum ubi celebrandi sunt ordines. . . . . Aliud scrutinium fit in ipsa ordinatione, quando ordinandi præsentantur episcopo ante altare, cum archidiaconus dicit: *Postulat sancta mater ecclesia*, etc. [See below, p. 170.] Et talis præsentator hujusmodi responsione non peccat, dum tamen non loquatur contra conscientiam, nam quem nescit indignum debet æstimare dignum: quod si archidiaconus sciverit aliquem indignum vel conscientia sua de præsentando talem remordeat, tunc antequam veniatur ad ordinationem secrete studeat episcopo intimare. Et si episcopus nolit desistere, archidiaconus debet eum subtrahere: et si hoc non potest sine scandalo, debet illa verba dicere, tanquam minister ecclesiæ, quæ non judicat de occultis: sed nullo modo debet crimen fratris publicare." Pars vij. cap. 3. E.

[63] Cap. Sacer ordo.

[64] "The bishop shal be blamed, by-fore god, as ich leyue,
That coroneth suche clerkes, as for god's knyghtes,
That conneth nat *sapienter*, nother synge ne rede,
Ac neyther is al blameles, the bisshop ne the chapeleyn."
Piers Plowman, Pass. xiv. l. 124.

For the meaning of "coroneth" see above, p. c, note 54. The title "knight" here is in the sense of servant; and has no reference to the term "Sir," at that time commonly used with the names of parish priests; meaning merely "dominus," or "dom" or "dan."

previously to the conferring of orders, but there were certain disabilities which either barred altogether the reception of them,[65] or, at least,

[65] There are numerous canons and decisions of canonists against the conferring of any orders upon women. Very anciently there were undoubtedly heretics, such as the Collyridians, who practised such ordinations, but the catholic Church instantly and unhesitatingly condemned them. Compare also the *Constit. apost.* lib. 3. c. ix. Some have argued that nevertheless in the first centuries women were ordained, and appeal to the "presbyteræ" and "episcopæ" whom we meet with in many records. But these were the wives of priests and bishops, either before or after their ordination: in the former sense according to the 19th canon of the council of Turin; cited by Bingham (vol. 1. p. 338): "Si inventus fuerit presbyter cum sua presbytera, aut diaconus cum sua diaconissa, aut subdiaconus cum sua subdiaconissa, annum integrum excommunicatus habeatur." Labbe, *Concil.* tom. 5. p. 858. The deaconesses of the primitive ages cannot be taken as any precedent: for independently of their functions being strictly kept separate from any matter appertaining to the priesthood or to the public service of the Church, and being limited to the performance of mere secular duties, such as visiting the sick and catechising women, &c., it is not certain that they received imposition of hands. I cannot enter into this question but would refer the reader to Baronius, sub an. xxxiv, and to the 19th canon of the council of Nice, with the notes of Balsamon and Zonaras, in Bevereg. *Pandect.* tom. 1. p. 82. Even if after all there may seem to be a balance of evidence in favour of some imposition of hands, yet this was in the way of a benediction and not of ordination. See Justellus, *Bibl. jur. canon.* tom. 1. p. 75; Casalius, *De saer. Christ. ritibus*, pars 2. cap. xxix; Bingham, *Antiq.* book 2. chap. xxij. I quote also this from the *Manipulus curatorum:* "Et si forte in aliquo capitulo mulier inveniatur vocari diaconissa vel presbytera, intelligendum est quod illa vocatur diaconissa, supra quam fundebatur aliqua benedictio: presbytera autem vocatur, quia secundum morem primitivæ ecclesiæ erat uxor presbyteri: vel forte aliqua vidua de rebus ecclesiæ curam habens ad instar matrisfamilias vocabatur presbytera. Et ita exponenda sunt omnia capitula quæ loquuntur de ista materia." Lib. 5. cap. v. Compare also Guillermus Pari-

required a dispensation. Among them especially was illegitimacy: as expressed by the Winchester canons, in 1308: "*De matrimonio:*—ejus quanta sit virtus in Dei ecclesia per hoc facile cernitur, quod sola proles, quæ in fide thori gignitur, ad dignitates ecclesiasticas admittitur; et aliter genita sine dispensatione canonica, ab hujusmodi, tanquam illegitima reprobatur."[66] And by a provincial canon of archbishop Edmund, in the preceding century: upon which I quote Lyndwood: "Tales [i.e. qui de non legitimo matrimonio nati sunt] ordinari non debent. Dicitur enim communiter per doctores, quod illegitime nati non possunt ordinari ad sacros ordines sine dispensatione papæ, nisi ingrediantur religionem, quo casu possunt ad omnes sacros ordines promoveri etiam sine dispensatione. Possunt tamen illegitime nati promoveri ad ordines minores ex dispensatione episcopi."[67]

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siensis, *de vij. sacramentis*, fol. xiij.

It is not necessary to examine the analogy sometimes insisted on, from the circumstance that civil power and jurisdiction are exercised by women: for the nature of the ecclesiastical ministry, instituted by our blessed Lord, is in fact so different that the two cases are not analogous. Sometimes the example of abbesses is appealed to, but the decision upon this point of the canonists is unanimous: "illarum potestatem non esse veræ jurisdictionis, quæ videlicet ex auctoritate clavium descendat ecclesiæ concessa, sed earum munus ad vigilantiam referri, ad curam quandam domesticam, maternam et œconomicam."

Upon the whole question compare the decision of Lyndwood, lib. 1. tit. 7, Sacerdotes, *verb.* masculi.

[66] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 2. p. 295.

[67] Lib. 1. tit. 4, Eos qui, *verb.* non legitimo. Compare J. de Athon, *cap.* Sacer ordo, *verb.* illegitimos. Bulls are extant conferring power upon bishops to grant dispensations even to receive the higher orders: as, for example, two to the archbishop of Canterbury in the year 1313; in the *Concilia*,

The children of serfs or villeins without the consent of their lord were disabled: of which we have frequent examples in the earlier centuries. The 16th of the famous articles of Clarendon decides, "filii rusticorum non debent ordinari absque assensu domini, de cujus terra nati esse dignoscuntur." In the next century, 1256, a canon of the diocese of Chichester: "Ut nullus se nobis offerat ordinandus, nisi liberæ conditionis existens; de legitimo matrimonio natus, et examinatione canonica examinatus, et approbatus."[68] From an allusion in a canon of the Exeter synod of 1287 we learn that in spite of all precautions such persons, by pretending that they were free and suborning witnesses, obtained ordination; to which falsehood the penalty of excommunication was attached. Some years before this time, it was ordered by another council that priests born serfs should be suspended: "Præcipimus itaque, quod sacerdotes, qui se noverint filios servorum, et præter conscientiam dominorum suorum ordinatos—non exequantur sacerdotis officium, donec nostrum super hoc ab eis fuerit consilium requisitum."[69] I shall only add further upon this head the 82nd of the apostolical canons upon which probably, or at least upon similar reasons, the otherwise apparently harsh regulation was origiginally founded: "Servos in clerum provehi sine venia dominorum non permittimus ad possessorum molestiam. Domorum enim eversionem illud efficit."[70]

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tom. 2. pp. 434, 436: the first of which excepts those illegitimates who were born of adultery or incest.

[68] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. pp. 436, 689.

[69] *Ibid.* tom. 2. p. 137; tom. 1. p. 658.

[70] Balsamon comments upon this: "Hic autem canon nolens nostris fratribus aliquid a nobis offendiculi afferri, non permittit

That we may not delay to particularise all these disqualifications separately, two authorities may be referred to in which many are joined and named together. One of these, of a very early date; from the dialogue of archbishop Egbert, the fifteenth interrogation: "Pro quibus criminibus nullus sacerdos potest fieri, vel pro quibus jampridem ordinatus deponitur? *Responsio.* Hujusmodi tunc ordinatio episcopi, presbyteri, vel diaconi, rata esse dicitur: si nullo gravi facinore probatur infectus, si secundam non habuit [uxorem] nec a marito relictam; si pœnitentiam publicam non gessit, nec ulla corporis parte vitiatus apparet; si servilis aut ex origine non est conditionis obnoxius; si curiæ probatur nexibus absolutus; si adsecutus est literas; hunc elegimus ad sacerdotium promoveri. Pro his vero criminibus nullum licet ordinari, sed promotos quosque dicimus deponendos; idola scilicet adorantes; per aruspices incantatores captivos se diabolo tradentes; fidem suam falso testimonio expugnantes; homicidiis vel fornicationibus contaminatos; furta perpetrantes; sacrum veritatis nomen perjurii temeritate violantes."[71] The other, a canon of the

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ut alienus servus in clerum promoveatur, etiamsi sit prudentissimus et dignus;—ad exemplum autem scriptum est et quod factum est in Onesimo.—Quare nec libertas, nec sacerdotium, nec aliquid aliud dominum ignorantem a servi sui dominio abalienant." And Zonaras to the same purpose: "Fideles decet ea fugere, quæ scandala generent aliquibus. Alienum vero servum contra domini sententiam clericum fieri, causa est scandali, atque molestiæ.—Quod si servus gradu sacro dignus existimetur, episcopum de eo negotio cum domino communicare oportet." Bevereg. *Pandect.* tom. 1. p. 54. The canon itself refers to the case of Onesimus; "noster quoque Onesimus."

[71] Thorpe, *Ancient laws*, vol. 2. p. 93.

provincial council under Stephen Langton: "Minores clerici ad inferiores gradus non admittantur, nisi idoneos habeant procuratores, et per testimonium eorundem admittantur. Nullus simoniacus, homicida, excommunicatus, aut suspensus, furarius, sacrilegus, incendiarius, aut falsarius, aut aliter hujusmodi canonicum impedimentum ad quoscunque ordines præsumat accedere."[72]

I believe it may be asserted that at no time after Christianity became fixed and spreading among the Anglo-saxons was the necessity overlooked of a title,[73] that is, of a nomination to some post of duty, previously to the actual reception of holy orders. The council of Calcuith, in the eighth century, decreed that all priests and deacons "in illo titulo perseverent, ad quem consecrati sunt." Even before this time, the excerpts of Egbert (citing a Chalcedonian canon) say: "Ut nullus absolute ordinetur, et sine pronunciatione loci, ad quem ordinandus est." The term *absolute* is explained by its use in the following canon from the council of London, 1126: "Nullus in presbyterum, nullus in diaconum, nisi ad certum titulum ordinetur;

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[72] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 595. See Lyndwood, lib. 1. tit. 5, upon the similar constitution of Walter Reynold; and the commentary, already mentioned, of John de Athon on Otho's constitution, *De scrutinio ordinandorum.* A very long and detailed account of the canonical impediments is given in the *Pupilla oculi*, cap. De ætate et qualitate ordinandorum.

[73] "Nota, quod titulus in jure diversimode sumitur. Est enim *titulus* quandoque idem quod detentatio. Et quandoque ponitur pro causa qua dominium transfertur. Quandoque *titulus* dicitur signum, alias ipsum beneficium, alias ipse ordo ecclesiasticus, vel quælibet dignitas, vel prælatio," etc. Lyndwood, lib. 1. tit. 8, Cum a jure, *verb.* ullo titulo.

qui vero absolute fuerit ordinatus sumpta careat dignitate." This is not to be so interpreted as to mean that his orders, so received, were invalid; but that he was not to enjoy the dignities and privileges attached to his degree. Again, the sixth of the council of London in 1200: "Firmiter observari præcipimus, ut si episcopus aliquem sine titulo certo in diaconum, vel presbyterum ordinaverit, tamdiu ei subministret, donec ei in aliqua ecclesia convenientia stipendia militiæ clericali assignet, nisi forte talis, qui ordinatur, extiterit, qui de sua vel paterna hæreditate subsidia vitæ possit habere. Idem in subdiaconi ordinatione statuimus; adjungentes, ut si archidiaconus citra speciale mandatum episcopi sui aliquem prædictorum ordinationi præsentaverit, et is ad ejus præsentationem ordinatus fuerit, prædictæ pœnæ subjaceat." Once more, the synod of Exeter in 1287: "Caveant ad sacros ordines promovendi, ut titulum habeant sufficientem, sine quo omnibus ad sacros ordines accedere interdicimus facultatem."[74]

The possession of a title by every candidate for orders, as insisted on so universally, sprang not only (as before said) from the desire that he should have some immediate and distinct field or scope for his labours, but also to check the increase of unemployed clergy, which was becoming excessive about the seventh and following centuries. Unemployed, because they either would not seek for or could not obtain cures or benefices. There were so many privileges and exemptions from civil jurisdiction which at that time began to be attached to the

[74] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. pp. 104, 147, 408, 506; tom. 2. p. 137.

spiritualty, that men were eager to receive orders merely that they might enjoy those privileges.

A title also conveyed with it the customary stipend, sufficient to provide the usual and proper necessaries of life. Otherwise, the Church would have been overrun not only with idle but with indigent clergy. This is a point already touched upon in one of the canons just quoted: and so also the *Pupilla oculi:* "Inquirant etiam examinatores de titulo ordinandi, et si habeat patrimonium proprium unde poterit sustentari competenter:—quia si ordinetur sine titulo tenetur episcopus seu præsentator ei necessaria providere."[75] And John de Athon justly says that any arrangement with a bishop or patron not to press or insist upon this claim would be of the nature of simony: "Ordo namque sacer sine titulo, i. e. beneficio dari non debet, etc. —Nec tamen potest ordinandus repromittere ordinanti, vel præsentanti, de non inquietando eos in forma, absque specie simoniæ ex utraque parte." The title also must not be a feigned one: "*Et vero.* i.e. non ficto, alias ordinans talem se obligat. Sed nunquid sufficiat ad excusationem ordinantis quod ordinandus hujusmodi suo titulo oblato asserat se contentum? quia volenti non fit injuria, etc. Tu dic contra, cum ibi hoc præcavendum sit indecentiæ clericali. Item hujusmodi remissio expressa simoniam induceret, ergo tacite non censetur subintelligi. Et intelligo, quod de hujusmodi titulo certo ordi-

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[75] Pars vij. cap. 3. H. Some go so far as to say that a person ordained without a title has a like claim, in case of death, not only upon the deceased bishop's heirs, which is generally acknowledged, but upon his successor. See Bonacina, disp. viij. tom. 1. p. 229. Hostiensis does not think the successor is liable; cit. *ibid.*

nandus debet facere fidem per aliqua sufficientia documenta, sc. per testes," etc.[76]

Upon the much disputed question of the propriety of conferring orders whether two or more at one time I must content myself with extracting a single constitution only, a long one, of archbishop Peckham at Lambeth, A. D. 1281: "Cum secundum doctores catholicos militia clericalis septem muniatur ordinibus singulorum characteribus in anima consignatis, per singulos etiam augmentum recipiens gratiæ, nisi ordinati ficte ordinem suscipiant crimine irretiti, expedit plurimum ipsos ordines minime recipere inculcatos, quoniam inculcatio reverentiam minuit, et gratiam per consequens, quæ per irreverentiam repercutitur ab ingratis. Contra dignitatem igitur tam reverentissimi esse dignoscitur sacramenti, quinque simul ordines, scilicet ordines non sacros cum uno sacro, alicui uni homini exhibere; unde in nonnullis aliis provinciis quatuor minores ordines non simul faciliter conferuntur, ut ascendentes clerici ad Christi ministeria quasi graduum canticum continentia, cum probati extiterint in minoribus officiis, gradatim demum procedant ad majora. Quia igitur ex singulis ecclesiis, quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæque honesta sunt, tenemur eligere, et ea tanquam fasciculum in Anglorum mentibus colligare; præcipimus, ut episcopi in his sequantur canonicas sanctiones; minores etiam ordines, quando id potest fieri, bono modo, pro sacramenti reverentia seu necessitate dentur saltem aliquoties combinati, et recipientes eos, seu simul, seu sigillatim, in vulgari lingua publice instruantur de distinctione ordinum, officiorum et

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[76] In constit. Othonis, *De scrutinio ordinand.*, *verb.* titulo et vero.

characterum, ac de profectu gratiæ, quæ in singulis ordinibus continetur, et digne accedentibus augmentatur."[77]

Some important observations of Lyndwood, bearing upon the same point, are placed in the note below. To the like purpose is the following from the *Pupilla:* "Potest quis omnes minores ordines recipere eodem die nisi consuetudo esset repugnans, cujus contrarium forte scandalum generaret. Sed unus ordo sacer cum minoribus vel duo sacri nullo modo uni eodem die conferantur. Et qui contra hanc formam furtive ordines receperit debet deponi."[78]

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[77] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 2. p. 53. Lyndwood says, upon the words *Canonicas sanctiones:* "Hic aut quæris de solis minoribus ordinibus conferendis, aut de conferendis solis majoribus, aut de conferendis tam minoribus quam majoribus. Et scias, quod diversis et separatis personis singulariter possunt singuli ordines eodem die conferri. Sed quæstio nostra procedit, an plures ordines possunt simul eodem die conferri uni personæ? et quantum ad majores ordines dic breviter, quod non licet omnes, nec etiam duos simul eodem die conferre. An autem omnes minores ordines possunt simul uni personæ conferri, dicunt doctores, quod quatuor possunt simul conferri, si talis sit consuetudo patriæ.—Sed an prima tonsura possit cum aliis quatuor simul eodem die conferri, sunt opiniones.—Mihi videtur, quod opinio Hostiensis intelligi potest vera, ut scilicet in generali celebratione ordinum prima tonsura non detur cum aliis quatuor in aperto: potest tamen eodem die ante inchoationem missæ celebrationis ordinum private conferri. Sed nunquid cum uno de minoribus ordinibus possit eidem personæ eodem die conferri ordo subdiaconatus? Hostiensis dicit plane quod non: et videtur hoc satis decisum in *capit. Cum. H.* ubi delictum talis patet ex tribus. Primo, quia recipienti ordinem subdiaconatus cum minore ordine eodem die imputatur temeritas. Secundo, quia ejus excessus magnus et multus esse judicatur. Tertio, quia ab executione ordinis suscepti suspenditur, ut ibi patet." Lib. 5. tit. 11.

[78] Pars vij. cap. 3. B.

From these and other testimonies if it was necessary to appeal to them (not omitting that of the office below, p. 167) it is quite clear that long before the reformation the minor orders, whatever the theory may have been, had in fact and practice fallen into disuse in the church of England, as now they also have fallen in the Roman catholic church. The names were retained, and the clergy required to pass through the minor orders,[79] before the reception of the diaconate or priesthood. These minor orders, including the subdiaconate, were not of divine institution:[80] claiming a very high antiquity, they

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[79] See the *Pupilla*, pars vij. cap. 1. F: "An superior ordo possit recipi inferiore non recepto? Isti perfecti ordines secundum institutionem ecclesiæ recipi debeant secundum quendam ordinem incipiendo." And it is decided that if this rule had not been followed, the person so transgressing would require a dispensation. It would appear also that if a priest had not received the diaconate (for example) he was to be ordained to that order but without iteration of the priesthood.

[80] Cardinal Bona says: "Tertia classis ministrantium clericos minorum ordinum complectitur; acolythos, etc. quos antiquissimos esse, et ab apostolis, vel ab immediatis eorum successoribus institutos doctores scholastici asserunt, sed non probant." *Rerum liturg.* lib. 1. cap. 25. 17. Peter Lombard also, speaking of the higher orders, to the same purpose: "hos solos primitiva ecclesia legitur habuisse, et de his solis præceptum apostoli habemus. Subdiaconos vero et acolythos, procedente tempore, ecclesia sibi constituit." *Sent.* lib. iv. dist. 24. And once more, before his time, Amalarius: "notandum est, eos ordines, qui potissimum necessarii sunt in ecclesia, apostolum Paulum denominasse et eorum mores depinxisse, sine quibus non potest rite immolatio altaris celebrari, scilicet, sine sacerdote et diacono. Ut sine retractatione sacerdos vigilet circa hostias, necessarius est diaconus ad ministrandum ea, quæ necessaria sunt sacerdoti: cæteri ordines his adjecti sunt. Crescente ecclesia, crevit officium ecclesiasticum: ut multitudini ecclesiæ subveniri posset,

nevertheless fell short of the apostolic age. Scripture is silent about them: nor do I remember that either St. Clement, or St. Ignatius in his genuine epistles, or St. Polycarp, or St. Justin, or St. Irenæus alludes to or mentions them in any way, and far less therefore do they insist on their necessity.

Before we leave the minor orders altogether I would take from Ælfric's pastoral epistle an account of their duties, as they were regarded in the Anglo-saxon age: "Ostiarius is the doorkeeper, who holds the keys of the church. Lector is the reader, who reads in church. Exorcista is an adjutor, who reads over men diseased in mind and the infirm. Acoluthus is he who bears the light at God's ministries. Subdiaconus is the under-deacon who bears the chalice and the dish at the mass, and ministers to the deacon."[81]

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adjiciuntur inferiores in adjutorio præpositorum." *De off. eccl.* lib. 2. cap. 6; *Bibl. patr., auct.* tom. 1. p. 380. Compare the statements laid down in the *Necessary Doctrine*, art. *Of Orders:* "To these" of priests and deacons "the primitiue churche dyd adde and conjoyne certaine other inferiour and lower degrees," etc. fol. xxxvj. So also, in its corresponding place, *The Institution.* Bishop Bonner, in his *Necessary Doctrine*, does not in his exposition upon "the sacrament of orders" notice the minor orders.

[81] Thorpe, *Ancient laws*, vol. 2. p. 379.

Archbishop Lanfranc explains the distinction of the aquamanile, which was given at their ordination to the subdeacons: "Vas inferius, in quod manibus infusa aqua delabitur. Urceolus vero, vas superius, unde lavandis manibus aqua infunditur." *Epist.* 13. And Joan. de Janua: "Aquamanile dicitur res, super quod cadit aqua, qua abluuntur digiti sacerdotum post sumptionem corporis Christi." *Cit.* Ducange, *Glossarium.*

CHAPTER VI.

WE proceed now to deacons, concerning whom the excerpts of archbishop Egbert, quoting a Carthaginian canon, decree: "placuit ut ante xxv. annos ætatis, nec diaconus ordinetur, nec virgines consecrentur, nisi rationabili necessitate cogente."[1] But as time went on an earlier limit was allowed: as is clear from the *Pupilla*, in a place which specifies also the ages at which the inferior orders might be received: "Ordinandus in exorcistam, lectorem, seu ostiarium debet esse major infante. i. major septennio. Et similiter ille qui primam tonsuram suscipit ordinandus in acolytum debet esse major xiiij. annis. Item major xvij. annis potest ordinari in subdiaconum. Major etiam xix. annis potest ordinari in diaconum: et major xxiv. annis in sacerdotem: et major xxx. annis potest esse episcopus."[2]

Strange as it may appear, deacons in the middle ages seem to have assumed, occasionally, the power of administering the sacrament of penance. This abuse is complained of and prohibited by the Norwich canons of 1257: "Audivimus quoque, quod quidam sacerdotes faciant suos diaconos audire confessiones parochianorum suorum; quod quam sit absurdum non opus est dicere, cum evidenter verum sit, quod diaconis non est tradita potestas, nec quæ[3]

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[1] Thorpe, *Ancient laws*, vol. 2. p. 110. xciij.
[2] Lib. vij. cap. 4. A.

rat ex hoc nisi occasionem aut spatium intendendi negotiis secularibus. Propterea firmiter inhibemus, ne diaconi confessiones audiant, aut pœnitentias injungant, aut alia sacramenta ministrent, quæ concessa sunt solis sacerdotibus ministrare."[3] The reader will observe that, in the above, the reason of a deacon's presuming to hear confessions is attributed rather to the idleness or secular disposition of the rector or parson of the parish: which nevertheless would not excuse the intruding deacon. In the following order however of the synod of Exeter, A.D. 1287, we find the practice simply forbidden, without the assignment of any special cause for the offence: "Et cum in ecclesia Dei, secundum inferiores et superiores ordines, officia sint distincta, nec inferior usurpet officium superioris, ut promiscuis actibus contingant ecclesiastica officia perturbari; firmiter inhibemus, ne diaconi confessiones audiant, pœnitentiasve injungant, vel sacra ministrent, aut aliqua officia exerceant, quæ solis sacerdotibus sunt concessa."[4] We further learn from the annals of the monastery of Burton that the existence of this profane liberty formed one of the diocesan articles of enquiry put forth by bishop Grosteste in 1252: "An diaconi audiant confessiones, vel alia ministrent sacramenta tantum sacerdotibus concessa?"[5]

[3] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 733.

[4] *Ibid.* tom. 2. p. 145.

[5] *Rerum Anglic. script.* tom. 1. p. 317. I shall have to quote presently a gloss of Lyndwood upon the authority which various degrees of the clergy have to preach; in which mention will be made of deacons as "curates:" whence some might perhaps argue that being "curates" they might hear confessions. But the sense in which deacons could thus be said to be curates in Lyndwood's day is very different from that in which they are now so often styled

It is true that in certain cases of great necessity, and in those only, power to hear confessions was given to deacons by a provincial constitution of archbishop Edmund: "De pœnitentia præcipimus: quod diaconi pœnitentias dare non præsumant, nisi in his casibus: cum sacerdos non potest, vel absens est: vel stulte, vel indiscrete non vult: et mors imminet ægroto." It is no less true that this statute allowed nothing more than that the confession should be heard; no power of giving absolution was granted nor the semblance of it; and, in fact, these extreme cases did not place a deacon in a higher position than, under the same circumstances, a mere layman. For thus Lyndwood says upon the word "ægroto" in the above: "Qui desiderat confiteri. Tali namque casu potest non solum diaconus, sed etiam laicus confessionem ægroti audire; immo et mulier hoc potest. Et hoc verum, ad ostendendum fidem sacramenti. Sacramentum tamen deficit, quia nullus potest vere absolvere nisi sacerdos."[6]

One more particular only requires notice, directed towards the proper administration of the holy eucharist to the sick; in which the practice condemned must be attributed (it would appear) altogether to the negligence or carelessness of the parish-priest:

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curates in the reformed church of England. I do not remember, nor conceive that it would be easy to produce, an instance of a deacon having the sole charge of a parish in the middle ages. The term curacy was then to be understood as regards deacons in the sense of "title" or place of ministration to which they were ordained or appointed, and within the limits of which they might exercise the privileges and functions of their order.

[6] Lib. 3. tit. 24, Baptisterium. Cf. lib. 5. tit. 16, De pœnitentia.

"Caveant presbyteri, ne ad visitandum infirmos se exhibeant difficiles; . . . . nec, sicut a quibusdam hactenus est præsumptum, mittant cum eucharistia diaconos ad infirmos." This is one of the canons of a diocesan synod of Chichester, A.D. 1289.[7]

Some few matters connected with the duties and qualifications of the next and highest order, the priesthood, remain to be considered.[8] As to the age, earlier than which men were not to be ordained, I have already spoken, p. cxviii. In the middle of the eighth century the council of Cloveshoo gives the following admonition: "Octavo monuerunt capitulo: ut presbyteri indesinenter reminiscant, ad quod divina ordinatione præ cæteris promoti sint; quod Dei videlicet ministri et dispensatores mysteriorum Christi vocantur; et tunc 'quæritur inter dispensatores, ut fidelis quis inveniatur;' unde sciant se necessario pro Dei intuitu debere a secularibus negotiis causisque, in quantum prævaleant, vacare; altaris officium divinique cultus obsequium summa intentione persolvere; oratorii domum, et cuncta ad cultum ipsius pertinentia, sub sua cura conservare; lectioni, orationi, missarum celebrationi, psalmisque canendis invigilare."[9] The canon then proceeds to some particular duties in the case of priests attached

[7] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 2. p. 170.

[8] The expression "to be priested" is not a modern colloquialism. It is as old as the fifteenth century. In the register of the wills of the archdeacon of Norwich is one of a widow, Margaret Norman, who died in 1516. She provides for a secular priest to say mass for her for a whole year. "And thys is my mynde, that S[r] Skipp, bacheler, beynge in Cambrige, shal haue this yeres service, toward his exhibicion. And if that I depart before that he shalbe prested, he shall synge for me and my frendes his firste masse."

[9] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 96.

to monasteries: and is followed by several other canons of no little interest, to which I must be content to refer the student. Yet one particular order may be especially noted: namely, that priests were to learn and be able to expound in the vulgar tongue the solemn part of the liturgy: not only the creed and the Lord's prayer, "sed et sacrosancta quoque verba, quæ in missæ celebratione et officio baptismi solenniter dicuntur." It may be right to observe—though the remark is probably uncalled for—that the explanation of the two forms (i.e. of the consecration of the bread and wine, and of the administration of baptism) was insisted on for totally different objects. By the one it was sought to teach people when to pay their most solemn reverence and worship during the canon of the mass; by the other to enable them in cases of necessity to speak rightly the words upon which the conveyance of the grace of the sacrament of baptism depends.

The rite of anointing the hands of persons to be ordained priests was practised in the English church from the most remote antiquity. The reader will see in the notes below frequent remarks upon certain parts of the ordinal which appear to have been originally introduced into the Anglo-saxon pontificals from the more ancient forms of the old British church. There is no manuscript extant of any foreign church with the exception of the sacramentary of St. Gregory older than the pontificals of archbishops Egbert and Dunstan, in which this rite of unction is prescribed: in both of these pontificals it is ordered together with unction of the head, which last is not ordered in the sacramentary just named. In some pontificals of the Gallican

church of the tenth century, examined by Martene, the rite also occurs, and probably was adopted from the already established Anglo-saxon practice. It is further a very remarkable circumstance that between the time of St. Gregory and the tenth century the unction even of the hands was discontinued according to the use of the church of Rome. For in the ninth century pope Nicolas the first says in an epistle: "Præterea sciscitaris utrum solis presbyteris, an et diaconibus debeant cum ordinantur manus chrismatis liquore perungi. Quod in sancta hac Romana, cui Deo autore deservimus, ecclesia, neutris agitur."[10]

There are many canons of English councils directed to the prevention of an abuse, not unlikely to spread; namely the holding of rectories by persons not in priest's orders. Hence it was enjoined that all rectors and vicars having cure of souls should be ordained priests within a certain time after presentation to the benefice or the presentation would be void. But it seems that some, although they so far obeyed these canons as to escape deprivation, yet neglected their duties and refused to celebrate the

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[10] Epist. 39. *Concil. Gall.* tom. 3. The student should consult upon this point (one of some importance) the arguments of Morinus, *De sacris ordin.* exerc. vi. cap. 2. of Menard, in his notes to the sacramentary of St. Gregory, tom. 3. p. 503, and of Catalani, *In pontif.* tom. I. p. 122. The sacramentary of St. Gelasius omits the unction of the hands: and there is a place in the homilies of St. Leo which, curiously enough, is appealed to by both parties: by the one, to prove that in his time unction was not observed; by the other, to prove the contrary. The passage is, "Nunc enim et ordo clarior levitarum, et dignitas amplior seniorum, et sacratior est unctio sacerdotum, quia crux tua omnium fons benedictionum." *Serm.* 8. *de passione Domini.*

holy eucharist. A statute of a synod of the diocese of Exeter near the end of the thirteenth century speaks plainly enough of this practice and corrects it: "Quoniam audivimus, quod quanquam rectores ecclesiarum metu pœnæ statuti infra annum, a tempore suscepti regiminis, se fecerint in presbyteros ordinari; missarum tamen solennia differunt celebrare per tempora diuturna; per hoc excusare volentes, quod in prædicto statuto nihil cautum de missarum solenniis reperitur: hanc excusationem, qua se accusant, quam potius excusant, frivolam reputantes, statuimus, ut saltem infra dimidium annum post ordinum susceptionem (nisi canonicum habuerint impedimentum) missas celebrare non omittant. Alioquin beneficiorum suorum fructus decrevimus sibi subtrahendos, donec quod dictum est devote compleverint; nec postquam semel celebraverint, incipiant tunc cessare; sed sub pœna prædicta frequenter studeant celebrare."[11]

Except in the cases of persons thus presented to benefices, a very wise rule, if it was fully carried out (which we may doubt whether it could have been at any time even with the exceptions allowed), prohibited priests from undertaking the sole cure of a parish for one year after their ordination. I again quote the same synod of Exeter: "Cum sit ars artium regimen animarum, illud juvenibus et inexpertis committere valde reputamus absurdum, donec per merita virtutum et experientiam diutinam digni efficiantur ad tanti oneris sarcinam supportandam. Quapropter statuimus, ne quisquam presbyterorum primo ordinationis suæ anno ad curam parochialem

[11] *Concilia*, tom. 2. p. 145.

ullatenus admittatur; illis tamen duntaxat exceptis, qui tenentur propriis ecclesiis deservire." And, once more upon this point, a synodical constitution of Henry Woodloke bishop of Winchester in the year 1308: "Inhibemus etiam, ne quis sacerdos, exceptis rectoribus aut vicariis ecclesiarum, qui propriis tenentur ecclesiis deservire, primo ordinationis suæ anno, curam parochialem admittat."[12]

Very early in the ecclesiastical history of the church of England we find steps taken to prevent priests wandering about from place to place, and celebrating wheresoever they would. The Dialogue of archbishop Egbert has the following passage: "*Interrogatio.* Si permittendum est presbyteris, sive peregrinis sive nostri generis, passim ministrare absque conscientia episcopi loci, in cujus diœcesi interim demorantur, maxime sub laicis, nusquam stabiles, nec loco nec auctoritate pontificali primitus fundati? *Responsio.* Presbyteros peregrinos, vel absolute ordinatos sine literis commendatitiis circumeuntes provincias, nusquam eos ministrare patimur vel sacramenta tradere absque conscientia episcopi loci." Passing over six hundred years, the same precautions are laid down by a synod of the diocese of Sodor, in the fourteenth century: "Firmiter præcipiendo inhibemus sub interminatione anathematis, ut nullus sacerdos ex aliena diœcesi ad nostram veniens, inibi residentiam præsumat facere, nisi prius nobis honeste et rite pervenerit, ostendens nobis instrumenta publica vel testes idoneos de veritate suæ ordinationis et conversationis."[13]

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[12] *Conc.* tom. 2. pp. 149, 297.

[13] *Ibid.* tom. 1. p. 83; tom. 3. p. 11. These are to be traced doubtless to the 21st canon

Generally, with respect to all persons in orders the same care was taken. Lyndwood has a title "de clericis peregrinis:" and I quote the constitution of archbishop Walter Reynold in 1322 which he cites, and portions of the gloss: "Ordinati in Hibernia, Wallia,[14] seu Scotia, vel alibi, sine literis ordinariorum suorum commendatitiis vel dimissoriis non admittantur a quocunque infra provinciam nostram ad ordinis sic suscepti executionem, nisi magna necessitas inducat: et tunc quod cum eis auctoritate sufficienti fuerit dispensatum super executione ordinis memorati, vel alias a suis ordinariis ordo sic susceptus ratificetur. Proviso nihilominus quod nullo modo admittantur, nisi prius constiterit de eorum legitima ordinatione, vitæ munditia, pariter et litera-

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of the council of Arles, in the year 314: at which several of the British bishops (as is well known) were present.

I would place here in a note two passages from the Anglo-saxon records. First, from the canons under king Edgar: "We enjoin, that it never happen that a priest celebrate mass, and not taste the housel himself." Thorpe, *Ancient laws*, vol. 2. p. 253. I understand this to mean, after consecration: in other words, that no priest was to celebrate unless he also communicated: "huꝩl" is not a term applied to the unhallowed bread, and the preceding canon is directed to a proper care in providing all things necessary for the sacrament. Secondly, from the penitential of Egbert: "Quisque presbyter debet esse, sicut vocatus est, sacerdos." *Ibid.* p. 203. As to this a remark of Lyndwood is apposite: where speaking of a certain canon he says: "Et nota, quod illum quem infra vocat presbyterum, hic vocat sacerdotem. Et dicitur sacerdos quasi sacra dans. Et sic hæ dictiones, presbyter et sacerdos, synonima sunt." Lib. 1. tit. 6, Sacerdotis, *verb.* sacerdotem loci.

[14] Johnson observes: "Sure the archbishop had forgot that Wales was part of his province." But the object of the constitution is general; to prevent any clerk officiating in a diocese, by the bishop of which he was not originally ordained, without licence and examination.

tura." "*Ordinariorum suorum*, sc. episcoporum quorum sunt subditi. *Commendatitiis.* Sic dictis quia continent testimonium sive commendationem de vita, honestate, et moribus ordinandorum. Et tales literæ si essent perditæ, possunt probari per testes. Et has non possunt concedere inferiores episcopis, nisi hoc habeant de consuetudine sive privilegio. *Vel dimissoriis.* Hæ dicuntur, per quas aliquis dimittitur a jurisdictione sive potestate sui prælati, et dicuntur quandoque licentiales, quando, viz. licentia datur ad aliquid faciendum, utputa ordines ab alieno episcopo suscipiendos. Et has possunt episcopi suis subditis concedere, sc. ut ipsarum vigore ipsas obtinentes valeant ab aliis episcopis ordinari. *Vitæ munditia.* Quæ consistit in pluribus. Primo, viz. quod eorum vita et conversatio sit casta: secundo, quod sit in cibo et potu temperata: tertio, quod non sit tabulis et commessationibus dedita: quarto, quod sit orationibus assueta: quinto, quod se non immisceant cœtibus, ubi cantantur amatoria, vel exercentur inhonesta: sexto, quod ab ebrietate omnino se abstineant."[15]

There is no need to delay in order to extract any of the canons which relate to the duty of preaching, from the time when the council of Cloveshoo, A.D. 747, in its ninth canon ordered every priest carefully and diligently to fulfil it. Upon a point which the Church has always so much insisted on it does not seem necessary to heap up authorities: I would rather quote the opinion of the great canonist, as to some restrictions with regard to this duty: "Nota,

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[15] Lib. I. tit. 9, Cum quanta. Compare the next chapter of the same title.

quod non omnis qui vult prædicare, debet ad hoc admitti. Nam mere laicus nec publice nec private potest prædicare, nec etiam mulier. 23. *dist. mulier.* quod intelligas ascendendo pulpitum, et faciendo sermonem ad populum: loquendo de clericis habes scire, quod papa ubique potest prædicare; episcopi vero ubique possunt prædicare, nisi per diœcesanos prohibeantur expresse, juxta illud *Marc. Euntes in mundum universum prædicate*, quod dictum fuit apostolis, in quorum loco succedunt episcopi. Auctoritatem tamen prædicandi aliis dare non possunt, nisi in propriis diœcesibus. Inferiores vero prælati, sive curati, subditis sibi commissis prædicare possunt, etiamsi fuerint diaconi tantum: aliis etiam officium prædicandi committere possunt in cura eis commissa, dum tamen tales sint, qui ad hoc approbati et vocati fuerint, ut sunt doctores in theologia, vel alias per episcopum approbati. Hi vero qui nec prælati nec curati sunt, non possunt prædicare nisi mittantur ab his, qui hoc facere possunt."[16]

Severe penalties were attached to the performance of priestly functions by men who had not received the order of the priesthood. This is so well known that the canons need not be quoted: but I would mention two examples, in neither of which, however, the punishment is specified. One was brought before the convocation sitting in St. Paul's in 1463: "Die sabbati, toto concilio, ut prius, insimul congregato, adductus fuit coram domino et confratribus suis quidam Simon Harrison, apparatu fratris prædicatoris indutus, in ecclesia parochiali de Lamehith,

[16] Lyndwood, lib. 3. tit. 4, Præterea, *verb.* prædicant. Cf. lib. 5. tit. 5, Reverendissimæ, *verb.* Auctorizatus est.

Winton. diœc. per familiares domini suspecte in dicenda missa captus, qui solum, ut publice asseruit et fatebatur tunc ibidem, in ordine acolytus constitutus missas per longum tempus celebravit, idolatriam committendo. Et hoc audito, dominus commisit eum confratri suo Willielmo Winton. episcopo puniendum."[17]

The other example is very remarkable, related in the chronicle of Henry de Knyghton: "Illis diebus (1391) erat quædam matrona in civitate Londoniensi quæ habebat unicam filiam quam instruxit ad celebrandum missam, et erexit altare in cubili suo secreto cum ornatu suo, sicque fecit filiam suam multis diebus vestire se more sacerdotis et ad altare accedere, et pro suo modo missam celebrare: sed cum venisset ad verba sacramenti prostravit se ante altare et sacramentum non confecit, sed cætera missæ surgens usque ad finem complevit, matre ejus eam juvante et suam devotionem agente. Iste error multo tempore duravit, donec per quandam vicinam ad talem missam secretius vocatam divulgaretur, et ad aures episcopi Londoniensis devenisset, qui eas ad præsentiam suam convocavit, et de errore convenit, et sacerdotissam tonsuram comæ publice monstrare coegit, cujus caput nimis glabrosum inventum est; episcopus plorans nimis et ejulans de tali errore in ecclesia suo tempore contingente, multa lamenta emisit, et finem cum illis injuncta pœnitentia fecit."[18]

The following constitution of archbishop Edmund, in the year 1236, refers to the case of those who

[17] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 3. p. 585.
[18] *Script. X.* tom. 2. p. 2738.

had, from any cause, contracted irregularity in the receiving of their orders: "Omnes qui irregulari tatem, in ordine suscepto, vel ante, vel post ordines susceptos, constat contraxisse, nisi cum eis dispensatum fuerit expresse per eos qui cum eis dispensare poterint, ab officii executione denunciamus esse suspensos; donec cum eis super hoc legitime fuerit dispensatum." Upon this Lyndwood says: "*Irregularitatem.* Quæ nomen accepit a regula, quam statuit apostolus servandam in ordinatione clericorum, cujus contrarium dicitur irregularitas. Et nota quod irregularitas est quoddam impedimentum proveniens ex constitutione canonica, et non extenditur, nisi quatenus invenitur jure inflicta. *In ordine suscepto.* In tempore suscipiendi ordines; pone exemplum in scienter ordinato ab hæretico vel schismatico. *Officii executione.* Intelligas de solenni executione; tali videlicet quæ pertinet ad ordinem quem obtinet et sub ratione ipsius ordinis. Unde talis irregularis de quo hic loquitur, se immiscere non potest officio ecclesiastico, ut videlicet publice et solemniter ministret in ordine suo tempore quo dicuntur vesperæ, matutinæ, missæ, vel aliæ horæ canonicæ. Privatim tamen, et per modum suffragii potest dicere horas suas ad quas tenetur ratione ordinis assumpti: et hoc puto verum si extra ecclesiam hoc faciat: secus si in ecclesia quæ ad talia deputatur. Potest talis tamen audire divina in ecclesia: hoc verum si hoc non faciat ex contemptu, sed ex devotione. Et hoc quod hic dicitur, viz. quod irregularis debet abstinere ab executione officii donec fuerit cum eo dispensatum, non solum habet locum in ordinato ad majores ordines, sed etiam ad minores."[19]

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[19] Lib. 1. tit. 4, Imprimis.

The constitution proceeds to specify several ways in which irregularity and consequent suspension were incurred: for example, homicide, advocacy in causes of blood, simoniacs, schismatics, &c. The whole title with Lyndwood's gloss is well worth the consideration of the student, bearing as it does upon the penalties attached to mere suspension which is not also accompanied with the further penalty of excommunication. The *Pupilla* has a chapter "de suspensione ab executione ordinis," in which the whole subject is very fully and accurately discussed.[20] The different severities of the degrees of suspension are explained; as being either perpetual, or temporary: from a benefice, or from execution of spiritual functions, or from entrance into any church. My space will not allow me to do more than thus barely refer to that part of the book.

I should have been glad also to have given, although not so immediately connected with my subject yet illustrative of it, some account of the various restrictions and rules laid down in the English councils relating to the daily habits and pursuits and occupations of the clergy: what they might both properly and lawfully engage in, and what they might not: also, some of the many canons which were passed regulating the dress which they should wear. These, however, I must pass by: but in the note below are references to some places in Wilkins, where the matter is entered into:[21] and if the reader examines them he will

[20] Pars vij. cap. 6.

[21] *Concilia*, tom. 1. pp. 574, 609, 652, 670, 706, 716, 732; tom. 2. pp. 4, 59, 141, 146, 296; tom. 3. pp. 29, 61, 70, 586, 619; tom. 4. p. 164. See Lyndwood also, lib. 3. tit. 1, Ut clericalis; John de Athon, cap. Quoniam

certainly acknowledge that on the present occasion I could not have done justice to a subject so extensive, and of importance sufficient to justify a detailed consideration in a separate treatise.

It remains for us to consider some particulars relating to bishops. As to their consecration, it was always insisted on in the church of England that there should not be less than three bishops present, and assisting. This may be traced from the time when archbishop Egbert, in his excerpts,[22] quoted the Nicene canon; or up to that earlier age when British bishops, present at the council of Arles, agreed to this rule: "*Ut sine tribus episcopis nullus episcopus ordinetur.* De his qui usurpant sibi, quod soli debeant episcopos ordinare, placuit ut nullus hoc sibi præsumat, nisi assumptis secum aliis septem episcopis: si tamen non potuerit septem, infra tres non audeat ordinare."[23]

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de habitu; the *Pupilla oculi*, lib. vij. cap. 10. It would be an endless task to attempt to refer to the foreign canonists, Van Espen, Bonacina, Thomassin, Saussajus, &c.; all of whom treat very largely of the subject.

[22] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 107. The case of Ceadda, or Chad, bishop of Lichfield in the middle of the seventh century, illustrates the strict observance of the canon. At the time of his appointment the see of Canterbury was vacant: "unde deverterunt ad provinciam occidentalium Saxonum, ubi erat Vini episcopus: et ab illo est vir præfatus consecratus antistes, adsumptis in societatem ordinationis duobus de Brettonum gente episcopis, qui dominicum paschæ diem secus [contra?] morem canonicum celebrant. Non enim erat tunc ullus excepto illo Vine in tota Brittania canonice ordinatus episcopus." *Bedæ hist. eccles.* lib. 3. cap. 28. This consecration was subsequently disallowed by archbishop Theodore; and Ceadda was rightly consecrated. Lib. 4. cap. 2. The penitential of archbishop Theodore enjoins the re-ordination of those whose orders had been received from the bishops of the old British church.

[23] Mansi, *Conc.* tom. 2. p. 474.

The following form of citation of a bishop to consecrate and to assist is of the year 1293: "Venerabili in Christo patri, domino R.[24] Dei gratia London. episcopo, devoti sui H. permissione divina prior ecclesiæ Christi Cant. et ejusdem loci capitulum, salutem, et ad sinceræ devotionis obsequia se paratos. Quanto majorem devotionem erga nos et ecclesiam nostram Cantuar. geritis, quam frequenti experimento didicimus, tanto vobis honorem facere satagimus præ cæteris ampliorem. Quia igitur discretus vir magister W. de Marchia Bathon. electus, die dominica in festo pentecostes prox. ventur. in ecclesia nostra Cantuar. prout scitis, Deo propitio, est in episcopum consecrandus, paternitati vestræ supplicamus, quatenus dictis die et loco, omni excusatione remota, tantæ solennitati personaliter interesse velitis, munus consecrationis electo propriis manibus impensur. Quid autem super his facere decreverit sanctitas vestra, per bajulum præsentium nobis literatorie significetis. Dat." etc.[25]

The clause in the act 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20, which required four bishops, was in case the certificate of the election had not been sent to an archbishop; otherwise, two bishops with the archbishop were to consecrate. See Gibson, *Codex juris ecc.* p. 111.

[24] Richard de Gravesend, consecr. 1280, ob. 1303.

[25] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 2. p. 195. Other documents of much interest are printed in that place, relating to the same consecration. The see of Canterbury was at that time vacant: but it was not upon that account only that the letter of summons runs in the name of the prior and convent of Christchurch; because it appears from a commission granted by them a few years afterwards, in the case of the bishop elect of Bangor, to be consecrated elsewhere, that they claimed the privilege of having all bishops of the province consecrated in their cathedral. See *Ibid.* p. 287.

"The dean and chapter of Canterbury" says bishop Gibson

As to the times, that is, the periods of the year at which general ordinations were to take place, both Baronius[26] and Bellarmine[27] have attempted to prove that the "jejunia quatuor temporum" as fixed for that purpose are to be attributed to the days and the authority of the apostles. But there is no evidence whatever of any weight in favour of this opinion; whilst on the other hand there is much in contradiction to it. Not only is there no mention of this fact in the earlier fathers, but there is very ancient authority that Gelasius was the first who limited the seasons of general ordination to certain times of the year. Micrologus says: "Gelasius papa constituit ut ordinationes presbyterorum et diaconorum nonnisi certis temporibus fiant."[28] So also Rabanus Maurus: "sacras ordinationes quatuor temporum diebus oportere fieri, decreta Gelasii papæ testantur."[29] There is no doubt,

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"claim it as an ancient right of that church, that every bishop of the province is to be consecrated in it, or the archbishop to receive from them a licence to consecrate elsewhere. And tho' between the years 1235 and 1300 that point was controverted with the chapter, it ended in their favours, and in the further confirmation of the privilege. . . . In Cranmer's register, among the fees due to the archbishop and his officers for confirmation and consecration, we find the following entry: 'Memorand. that no bishop may be consecrated without the church of Canterbury, but by the special licence of the dean and chapter under their chapter seal, the fee whereof is 26*s*. 8*d*.'" *Codex juris ecc*. p. 111. note rr.

[26] An. lvij. n. ccix.

[27] *Opera*, tom. 1. p. 82; *De verbo Dei*, lib. 4. cap. 3.

[28] Cap. 24. *De ecclesiasticis observat.*

[29] *De instit. cleric.* lib. 2. cap. 24. See also one of the notes of Quesnel upon the 10th epistle of St. Leo, where the writer attributes to that pontif the first restriction imposed upon the ancient customs. Amalarius says that all the popes from Clement to

however, that the appropriation of certain times of the year to the solemnities of general ordinations is of an antiquity reaching, if not to apostolical, at least to almost primitive times.

Two or three extracts upon this point may be made from the old councils. First, the 99th of the often-quoted excerpts of archbishop Egbert: "Presbyterorum vero et diaconorum in quatuor temporum sabbatis, scilicet, ut dum hæc ordinatio coram populo agitur, sub omnium testificatione electorum ordinatorumque opinio discutiatur."[30] Again, of a council at Winchester soon after the conquest, in which canon the "certain times" must be interpreted of the ember days: "4. Quod ordinationes certis temporibus fiant."[31] And lastly, the *Pupilla oculi:* "Celebrari possunt sacri ordines generaliter in sab-

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Simplicius ordained only in the month of December. *De off.* lib. 2. cap. 1. "Simplicius primus sacravit in Februario, ni fallor, nullam ob aliam causam, nisi intimando conjungendos propinquius Christi corpori, qui per sacrum ministerium provehuntur." Quod nullo modo fieri," etc. But there is ample evidence from records still extant that Amalarius was mistaken; and that the custom in the primitive ages at Rome, as in all other parts of the Catholic Church, was to ordain at any time of the year when it was judged desirable or necessary. Mabillon in his *Museum Italicum*, tom. 2. p. 103, supposes that the frequent custom, certainly observed by some popes, to ordain only in the winter was on account of the great heat of the summer, and the numerous duties to be fulfilled in the autumn: but Catalani derides this idea; *Comment. in pontif.* tom. 1. p. 47.

[30] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 107. And the same archbishop in his penitential: "Hi sunt legitimi quatuor temporum dies, qui legitime observari debent: id est, kal. Martii, prima hebdomada; et kal. Junii, secunda hebdomada; et kal. Septembr. tertia hebdomada; et kal. Decembr. hebdomada proxima ante natale Christi." Thorpe, *Ancient laws*, vol. 2. p. 235.

[31] Wilkins, *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 365.

batis quatuor temporum, et in sabbato ante dominicam in passione et in sabbato sancto paschæ: in aliis autem temporibus nemini licet sacros ordines conferre nisi soli papæ: et si aliis temporibus conferantur ordinati recipiunt ordinem; sed non executionem ordinis. Minores autem ordines licite conferuntur ab episcopis in diebus dominicis et in aliis diebus solennibus, aut festis aliquibus, sed non valde multis, ut non videatur generalem ordinationem facere."[32]

Having in a previous dissertation in the first volume remarked upon the strict rules which were anciently enforced that all the sacraments should be freely administered without charge or demand of money, I shall refer the reader to that place and to the orders from the *Concilia* which are there cited.[33] These enactments, as regarded the conferring of holy orders, were grounded (as it is expressly stated in the 43rd of the excerpts of Egbert) upon the very ancient (so-called) apostolical canon: "If any bishop, presbyter or deacon, shall obtain possession of that dignity by money, let both him and the person who ordained him be deposed, and also altogether cut off from communion, as Simon Magus was." And here I would remark, having just cited these excerptions, that the 45th adopts an African canon,

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[32] Lib. vij. cap. 3.

[33] An ancient political song of the time of Henry the third, after complaining of some vices and immoralities of the clergy, proceeds:—

"Donum Dei non donatur,
Nisi gratis conferatur;
Quod qui vendit vel mercatur,
Lepra Syri vulneratur,
quem sic ambit ambitus,
ydolorum servitus,
templo sancti Spiritus,
Non compaginatur."

MS. Cotton, Jul. D. vij. fol. 133. This is printed also in one of the publications of the Camden society.

"Episcopus absque concilio presbyterorum clericos non ordinet."

Few injunctions were more frequently repeated, or of earlier date, than that every bishop should confine himself in the discharge of his duties strictly to his own diocese. A few orders relating to this discipline, which bear upon the power of celebrating ordinations, may fitly be quoted. The second canon of the council of Hertford (Herutford) in the year 673 is general in its object, but important from its early date: "Ut nullus episcoporum parochiam alterius invadat, sed contentus sit gubernatione creditæ sibi plebis."[34] Archbishop Egbert inserts in his excerpts part of a canon (the 16th) of the council of Nice, to the same effect: but I pass on to the 11th canon of the synod of Chalcuith: "Undecimo præcipimus, sicut priscis temporibus a sanctis patribus traditum esse reperitur; ut nulli episcoporum liceat alterius parochiam invadere, vel etiam aliquid alterius ministerii ad se pertrahere in aliqua consecratione ecclesiarum, vel presbyterorum, diaconorumque, nisi solus archiepiscopus, quia caput est suorum episcoporum." In the year 1126, the tenth canon of a council at London: "Nullus episcoporum alterius parochianum ordinare, vel judicare præsumat."[35]

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[34] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. I. p. 43. But compare a canon, said to be of a council in Ireland, two hundred years before this: "Episcopus quislibet, qui de sua in alteram progreditur parochiam, nec ordinare præsumat, nisi permissionem acceperit ab eo, qui in suo principatu est." *Ibid.* p. 3.

[35] *Ibid.* pp. 171, 408. Cf. p. 609. xv. Among other privileges claimed by or allowed to monasteries, one frequently was that their members might be ordained by any bishop, and not necessarily by the diocesan. In fact, to such an extent had the exemptions of many religious

Lastly, the following provincial of archbishop Wethershed in the year 1229, as given by Lyndwood: "Quia quidem clerici desperantes ab episcopis suis ordinari propter imperitiam, aut ætatem minorem, extra provinciam suam a transmarinis episcopis ordinantur, vel ordinantur vel ordinatos se mentiuntur, ignorata sigilla episcopis suis deferentes: statuimus talem ordinationem irritam esse habendam, sub interminatione anathematis inhibentes, ne a quoquam ad sui officii executionem suscipiantur. Episcopum quoque nostræ jurisdictionis, qui talem sciens et perpendens ordinaverit vel susceperit, ab illius ordinis collatione, ad quem eum susceperit vel ordinaverit, usque ad condignam satisfactionem se noverit esse suspensum."[36] To this may be added the dictum of the *Pupilla oculi*: "episcopus non debet ordinare clericum alterius diœcesis præter licentiam sui superioris, id est, episcopi in cujus diœcesi iste qui ordinari vult fuit oriundus."[37]

houses reached that they acknowledged no diocesan, and no ordinary, except the pope. The abuses to which this had led, and the frequent quarrels which took place between the monasteries and the bishops, caused so much scandal that the necessity of some reformation was plain enough long before the sixteenth century. The chronicle of W. Thorn, an ardent partisan of the monks of St. Augustine of Canterbury, is not a little instructive upon this point. Upon the privilege of that abbey (for example) as regards ordinations I quote the following: "Præterea quod crisma, et oleum sanctum, consecrationes altarium, ordinationes monachorum et clericorum a quocunque voluerimus episcopo catholico poterimus suscipere, nec ea nobis audeat aliquatenus denegare." *Scripl. X.* tom. 2. p. 1835.

[36] Lib. 1. tit. 4.

[37] Pars vij. cap. 2. F. The same chapter specifies various other restrictions upon the power of conferring orders.

A remarkable mandate is extant, of a bishop of Bath and Wells, which deserves our at-

In the majority of these irregular ordinations the persons receiving were, probably, oftener alone in fault, and always must have been themselves conscious of the existence of any canonical impediment. Whether the ordaining bishop was also cognizant or not made no difference; the recipient was no less guilty, and we find very frequent penalties levelled against such offenders. About the year 1173 it was decreed by a canon of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury: "Amodo officium suum non exerceant, qui in alienis episcopatibus furtive ordines susceperunt." Again, a synodal statute of the diocese of Chichester in 1246 thus concludes: "si quis vero furtive vel simoniace fuerit ordinatus, vel alias contra canonicas sanctiones, non exequatur officium, quousque cum ipso fuerit dispensatum." And once more, the synod of Exeter in 1287, bearing upon several points before noticed: "Quo-

tention: "Radulphus, episcopus Bath. et Well. archidiacono nostro Well. salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Abusionibus quorundam episcopos se dicentium—qui licet non missi officium episcopale in nostra dioec. viz. primam tonsuram et minores ordines conferendo, calices et superaltaria consecrando, vestimenta ecclesiastica benedicendo,—ut lucrum extorqueant temporale, in nostrum opprobrium, et contemptum, et aliorum perniciosum exemplum, absque auctoritate seu licentia aliqua exercere præsumunt, occurrere cupientes, vobis—sub pœna excommunicationis—mandamus, quatenus nullum episcopum, præterquam fratrem Johannem de Langebrugge Buduen. episcopum, suffraganeum nostrum ad hujusmodi speciale officium exercend. sine nostris literis vobis ostensis—admittatis. Inhibeatis insuper—omnibus rectoribus vicariis, et capellanis—ne tales episcopos recipiant—Citetis insuper, seu citari faciatis peremptorie quemcunque hujusmodi episcopum prætensum, quod compareat coram nobis vel nostro commissario receptur. quod justitia suadebit. Dat. xvi. Jul. 1362." Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 3. p. 49.

niam quidam extranei se oriundos de nostra diœcesi, ac servi se liberos multotiens mentiuntur, ad quod probandum conductitios testes et falsos producunt; nos tam ipsos, quam testes eorum, pro hujusmodi fraudis commento excommunicationis vinculo innodamus."[38]

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[38] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. pp. 475, 689; tom. 2. p. 137. Cf. tom. 1. pp. 581, 658, 706, 717.

We find orders very early in the councils of the English church as to the precedence of bishops that it should be ruled by the dates of their consecrations. Thus in the above cited council at Hertford, in the seventh century: "Octavum, ut nullus episcoporum se præferat alteri per ambitionem, sed omnes agnoscant tempus, et ordinem consecrationis suæ." But before the conquest privileges had been granted to some sees; for in a council under Lanfranc A.D. 1075 we find it decreed, after examination, that according to ancient rule the archbishop of York should sit on the right hand of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London on the left, and Winchester next to York. If the archbishop of York was not present, then the bishop of London took his place. *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 363. Thus Gervase in his chronicle, speaking of a council held under Henry the second, says: "Ad dextram primatis sedit episcopus Londoniensis, quia inter episcopos Cant. ecclesiæ suffraganeos decanatus præeminet dignitate. Ad sinistram sedit episcopus Wintoniensis, quia cantoris officio præcellit. Cæteri tam episcopi quam abbates secundum primogenita consecrationis suæ consederunt." *Script. X.* tom. 1. p. 1430. Compare the *Ymagines historiarum* of Ralph de Diceto, *Ibid.* p. 671. And Gervase again, for an example when the archbishop of York was present and occupied his proper position in a procession; *Ibid.* p. 1587: and he adds: "Roffensis vero qui Cantuariensis archiepiscopi capellanus est, prope archiepiscopum subsequetur a tergo." The statement of the chronicler as to the office of the bishop of Rochester, and above, as to the office of the bishop of Winchester, is contrary to the rule laid down by Lyndwood (and followed by archbishop Parker, *de ant. Brit. ecc.* p. 32, and later authorities), "Habet archiepiscopus Cant. in collegio episcoporum episcopos, Londinensem decanum, Wintoniensem cancellarium, Lincolniensem vicecancellarium, Sarisburiensem præcentorem, Wigorniensem capel-

I am not aware that if, in contradiction to these canons, a bishop ventured heedlessly or criminally to confer orders he would be liable to the following penalty; but I mention it as being worth notice, and having reference also to the solemnity with which, at his consecration, the proper vestments were put on by the newly elected bishop and regarded in some degree as conveying a distinctive character. The two cases in which the penalty would be incurred are neglect of consecrating churches and of punishing criminous clerks. In the first case, from the time that he had refused to consecrate, being properly required and not lawfully hindered, "a dalmaticæ, tunicæ, et sandaliorum usu, donec eam duxerit consecrandam, noverit se suspensum: quæ in ipso consecrationis actu illico reassumat:" and the other is to the same effect. Both these are in the legatine constitutions of Otho.[39]

There was a facility which persons anciently might avail themselves of, so that they might surreptitiously obtain orders, which has long been checked: this arose from the great number of

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lanum, Roffensem cruciferarium." Lib. 5. tit. 15, Eternæ, *verb.* tanquam. It appears that a dispute did arise about this matter between the bishops of London and Rochester, in the time of Richard the first. See *chron. Gervas., Script. X.* tom. 1. p. 1586; and abp. Parker, p. 226.

I had made some collections respecting the disputes between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, which are so frequently mentioned in the old chronicles and the councils. But the subject is so extensive that I have been obliged to pass it over altogether.

[39] Tit. 3 and 8. There is nothing of importance in John de Athon's gloss upon these passages.

persons who were ordained. I have unfortunately mislaid a reference to one of the Cotton manuscripts in the British museum in which I saw some long contemporary lists of ordinations, with names and other particulars, in the fourteenth century. But this is a point upon which ample information might easily be obtained from existing records in the episcopal registers of various dioceses; and the following extract from the *Archæologia* must be sufficient: "In the episcopate of bishop Brantyngham, at an ordination celebrated in Tiverton church by William Courtenay, bishop of Hereford, on the 8th June, 1370, there were ordained three hundred and seventy-four persons; of whom, one hundred and sixty-three received the first tonsure; one hundred and twenty were ordained acolyths; thirty, subdeacons; thirty-one, deacons; and thirty, priests."[40]

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[40] Vol. 18. p. 414. Some ordination lists are printed in the appendix to the York pontifical (Surtees society, p. 367) for that archdiocese: giving for one year (six ordinations) 1222 persons ordained; and for another, in 1350, 1600.

The names of those to be ordained were read aloud before the bishop, sitting in his chair. This often required a long time: and the Lanercost chronicler tells us a curious story of bishop Grosteste; who fell asleep, and saw a prophetic vision, during the reading; p. 187.

The sixth of the constitutions of Otho, in 1287, distinctly insists upon the importance of reading these lists carefully: "Ne reprobatis, qui fuerint reprobandi, ac approbatis clanculo immiscere se valeant, scribatur numerus, et nomina probatorum. Et qui scripti fuerint postmodum in ordinationis limine, perlecta scriptura, discretione solita requirantur." The gloss of John de Athon is: "*et nomina*, una cum cognominibus per quæ demonstrative appellantur. *Scripti*, scil. inter approbatos, maxime cum reprobati non scribantur. *Perlecta scriptura*, non ergo sufficit scribi, nisi sequatur lectura. *Discretione solita*, sc. separata vocatione nominatim facta.

CHAPTER VII.

Office of Enthronisation.

THE office which is placed next to the service of the consecration of a bishop is that of his enthronisation. This will not require many observations. Several forms relating to the enthronisation of a bishop of Bath and Wells in the thirteenth century have been printed by Wilkins; to which the student must be referred; and to another, a letter of summons to certain abbots by archbishop Winchelsey to attend the solemnity in his own instance.[1]

The dispute which has already been noticed between the bishops of London and Rochester had regard to the right of enthroning the archbishop. The account given of this affair by archbishop Parker shows that the controversy having once begun, there was no lack of claimants of the privilege, and that it ended in a compromise: "Inthronizandi enim jus Londinensis ut decanus, Roffensis ut capellanus, archiepiscopi sibi vendicavit. His autem litigantibus interponunt se monachi, suumque jus asserunt esse. Tum totus episcoporum cœtus instabat, et ad se tam inthronizationem,

Requirantur, id est, publice proclamentur ordinandi." *De scrutinio ordinandorum.*

Compare some remarks in the dissertation on service books as to the number of churches in this country before the reformation.

[1] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 2. pp. 196, 214.

quam consecrationem, spectare affirmabant. Hac dissentione turbata aliquantulum pallii suscipiendi ceremonia fuit. Tandem sic composita lis est; ut, in throno sedentis episcopus Londinensis, pallium autem suscipientis episcopus Roffensis, archiepiscopi dextras occuparet."[2]

The enthronisation of the archbishops was followed by a sumptuous feast, at which some of the chief persons in the kingdom performed certain services as at coronation banquets, either claimed as privileges and honours or as the conditions upon which they held manors or estates. The reader need scarcely be reminded of the great feast of George Nevil archbishop of York, in the reign of Edward the fourth, of which a particular account is printed by Hearne "out of an old paper roll." Another feast, equally magnificent, was given when archbishop Warham was enthroned in 1504.[3]

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[2] *De antiq. Brit. ecc.* p. 262.

[3] Leland, *Collectanea*, Append. vol. 6. pp. 2, 16. In the history of William de Chambre, printed in the *Anglia sacra* (tom. 1. p. 766), is an account of the enthronisation of bishop Richard de Bury: "in qua installatione fecit grande convivium: ubi interfuerunt rex et regina Angliæ, mater regis Angliæ, rex Scotiæ, duo archiepiscopi et quinque episcopi, septem comites cum uxoribus suis, et omnes magnates citra Trentam .... cum innumera multitudine communitatis." A.D. 1334. I cannot resist quoting also the following, concerning the same bishop: "Iste summe delectabatur in multitudine librorum. Plures enim libros habuit, ut passim dicebatur, quam omnes pontifices Angliæ. Et præter eos quos habuit in diversis maneriis suis repositos separatim, ubicunque cum sua familia residebat, tot libri jacebant in camera qua dormivit, quod ingredientes vix stare poterant vel incedere, nisi librum aliquem pedibus conculcarent." *Ibid.* p. 765. He was the author of the *Philobiblon;* Godwin, *De præsul.* p. 748.

One of the benedictions printed below (see page 328) is of the seal of a bishop. These seals after their death were anciently destroyed. At the end of one of the Durham inventories printed by the Surtees society is an entry; "post mortem Richardi Byry episcopi fracta fuerunt iiij. sigilla ejusdem."[4] A.D. 1345. The present custom in the reformed church of England is to send the seals of a deceased bishop to Lambeth, where they are broken up.

The pontifical ring was also anciently sent to the archbishop of Canterbury. In the year 1310, upon the decease of one of the bishops of Ely, the ring was not delivered as it ought to have been; and archbishop Winchelsey issued a writ directed to one Richard de Oteringham, who was administering the spiritualties of the see during its vacancy, in order to obtain possession of it. It begins,

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[4] *Wills and inventories*, p. 26. In this instance the broken seals were made into a silver-gilt chalice for the altar of St. John the baptist. One of the constitutions of Otho, *Quoniam tabellionum*, is directed to the subject of authentic seals: it orders that all archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. should procure them, with the proper legend and distinctions: and that great care should be taken lest they should fall into unfaithful hands, or be used for false purposes. The student should consult John de Athon upon this constitution, but I am not aware that either he or Lyndwood anywhere explains what the practice was with regard to the seals after a bishop's or other dignitary's decease. Lyndwood in one place, speaking of an authentic seal, says; "Sed quid si episcopus de novo consecratus, vel electus, confirmatus, nondum habeat sigillum hujusmodi paratum ad manus, habet tamen sigillum armorum vel signetum, an sufficiat alterum eorum talibus literis apponere? videtur quod sic, dum tamen tale sigillum sit notum." Lib. 5. tit. 5, Reverendissimæ, *verb*. sigillo. Compare as to the use of seals attached to letters of orders the fifth canon of a council at Westminster, in the year 1175; Wilkins, tom. 1. p. 477.

"Robertus, etc. salutem. Cum nuper ad nostram audientiam pervenisset, quod fratres Amisius et Robertus, monachi Elienses, annulum, qui pontificalis vulgariter appellatur, quondam domini Roberti Elien. episcopi defuncti, qui de jure et consuetudine nostræ ecclesiæ Cant. ad nos dignoscitur pertinere, post mortem ejusdem episcopi auctoritate propria occupassent, et detinerent occupatum; vobis dedimus," etc.[5] The monks of Ely (it appears) argued that the bishop, before his death, had given the ring to their convent.

Reception of the Pall.

Succeeding the office of the enthronisation of a bishop the reader will find the order which was to be observed when the archbishop of Canterbury received his pall. The origin of this ornament, as used by archbishops, is involved in hopeless obscurity; to use the words of van Espen, "quando et quomodo usus illius ornamenti incœperit sat obscurum est, sive Græcam sive Latinam ecclesiam spectemus."[6] There are two early documents which if they were genuine and authentic (and not a doubt remains that neither is so) would have thrown some light upon this question. One is the once famous donation of Constantine, the other the Liber pontifi-

[5] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 2. p. 403. It is possible (but scarcely probable) that the rings of the deceased bishops of Ely alone were due to the archbishop: for it seems certain that in the eleventh century no such claim was acknowledged by the bishops of Rochester. See the case of bishop Gundulph, in the *Anglia sacra*, pars 2. p. 290; cf. p. 292.

[6] *Jus eccles.* tom. 1. p. 169.

calis, in the life of St. Mark, pope A.D. 336.[7] This last document contains the earliest notice, authentic or not authentic, which has been yet produced for the antiquity of the pall: and Garnier, in his third dissertation upon the Liber diurnus, not only quotes the book as deciding many doubts but contends that Linus, the successor of St. Peter, originally adopted it.[8] He is sufficiently modest, indeed, to exclaim against some unfortunate authors of the twelfth century[9] who have attributed the use of it to St. Peter himself. It seems however to have been introduced about the fifth or sixth century into the Latin church from the east: and Thomassin has not been able to produce any example before the time of Cæsar of Arles about the year 500.[10]

The form of the pall is thus described by Innocent III: "Pallium fit de candida lana contextum, habet desuper circulum humeros constringentem, et duas lineas sive fascias ex eodem panno ab utraque parte dependentes: quatuor autem cruces purpureas, ante et retro, a dextris et sinistris: sed a sinistris pallium est duplex, simplex a dextris; cui in tres

[7] I need scarcely remind the reader that this Liber pontificalis must not be confounded with the pontifical, commonly so called: this "Liber" was "de gestis Romanorum pontificum." It is a valuable work, and I believe the best edition is by Joannes Vignolius with various readings, &c., 3 vols. Rom. 1724.

[8] p. 251.

[9] Rupertus abbas; for example. *De div. off.* lib. 1. cap. 27; *Bibl. patrum, auct.* tom. 1. p. 863. Catalani, nevertheless, does not fear to support him; *In cærem. episc.* tom. 1. p. 256: he cites also an epistle of Leo the great and a passage from Liberatus to show that St. Mark received the pall from St. Peter, and with it his patriarchal authority.

[10] Compare Alberti, *de sacris utensilibus*, tom. 1. p. 6.

partes conciso tres acus infiguntur (spinas vocant alii) quibus consuitur."[11]

It will be observed in the notes below that an archbishop, if translated from one see to another, was obliged to apply to the court of Rome for a new pall: this was on account of the personal character which was attributed to that ornament. Hence Cœlestin III decided, in his answer to an enquiry on the subject, "quod non videatur esse conveniens, 'ut pallium tuum alicui commodes: cum pallium in personam non transeat, sed quisque debeat cum eo (sicut tua novit discretio) sepeliri.'"[12]

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[11] *De myst. miss.* lib. 1. cap. 63. The reader who wishes accurately to examine this subject, as to the first adoption of the pall, how it was originally a royal habit, the office of the benediction, its mystical signification, and other particulars, must consult not only the middle-age ritualists, and our own historians who very briefly notice it, but van Espen, *Jus eccles.* pars 1. tit. xix; de Marca, *de concord. sacerd. et imper.* lib. 6. cap. 6; Thomassin, *de benef.* pars 1. lib. 2. liij; Catalani, *in pontiff.* tom. 1. p. 235, and *in cærem. episc.* tom. 1. p. 244; Ferraris, *Bibl. verb.* pallium; Benedict XIV. *de synodo*, lib. 3, and Georgius, *de lit. Rom. pontif.* lib. 1. cap. xxv.

I quote the following from the third dissertation attached to the Liber diurnus, before noticed: "Vox pallii apud Latinitatis autores vestem illam longam significat, quæ aliis indumentis imponitur, ut subinde assumatur cum prodeundum in publicum; deponatur, quando quisque domi apud se est. In sacris ornamentis vox illa ambiguam habet significationem; sumitur enim, aliquando pro veste sacra, quæ superinduitur, ut quod pluviale dicitur, quodque cappa et casula; aliquando pro insigni quodam dignitatis eximiæ, quod ipsi etiam cappæ casulæque imponitur, sicut pallium reliquis vestibus, vel est pallii ornamentum quoddam et decus." Several very ancient *formulæ* are given in the diurnal upon occasions when the pall was sent from Rome to archbishops, p. 125. These also should be referred to.

[12] Cap. 3. x. *De auctoritate et usu pallii;* Van Espen, tom. 1. p. 171. See also Castaldus, *Praxis cærem.* lib. 1. § x. cap. 12.

This decision is introduced into the rubric of the modern Roman pontifical. There are numerous accounts of the burying of archbishops in their vestments, to be found in their acts and in the Bollandists: but I remember only one English example in which the pall is expressly mentioned. Catalani says that we are to conclude that St. Dunstan was buried in his pall, because we are told that at the translation of his body the ring was found, upon examination, on his finger: and therefore the other vestments proper to his dignity. This seems a somewhat hasty inference.[13] How-

[13] *Comment. in pontif. Rom.* tom. 1. p. 248; Martene, tom. 2. p. 368.

Martene cites the following from a manuscript of some anonymous writer, entitled the Speculum ecclesiæ: "Sigillum cereum in modum crucis compactum et aquam benedictam continens super caput defuncti ponimus, quod est signum baptismi et christianitatis suæ, et testimonium quod ipse fidem Christi habuit in mente. Clerici vero ordinati cum illis indumentis in quibus fuerunt ordinati debent et sepeliri, et sacerdos cum illis cum quibus assistit altari, monachus vero cum cuculla sua, quod est professionis suæ signum. Super pectus vero sacerdotis debet poni calix loco sigilli, quidquid sit de oblata: quod si non habetur, stanneus, saltem Samius, id est fictilis. Episcopus debet habere annulum, quia sponsus est; cæteri sacerdotes non, quia sponsi non sunt, sed amici sponsi vel vicarii. Item capilli debent clerico tonderi, corona fieri, barba radi." Tom. 2. p. 368.

A very detailed and interesting account of the ancient manner of burying and performing the obsequies of the abbots of St. Alban's is given in Matt. Paris' lives, attached to his history. Speaking of one he says, after explaining the way in which the corpse had been previously prepared: "Portabatur igitur corpus a camera quæ dicitur abbatis, ubi expiraverat, in infirmariam; et ibidem pontificalibus est indutum: mitra capiti apposita, manibus chirothecæ, cum annulo, et dextro sub brachio baculus consuetus, manibus cancellatis, sandalia in pedibus decenter aptata." p. 1064.

In the above, there is a refer-

ever, the following is clear enough: archbishop Becket was hastily buried the day after he was

ence to a custom or distinction upon which I take this opportunity of making a remark, as I am not aware that it has been noticed by writers upon the subject. Matthew Paris says, that the pastoral staff was placed under the abbot's right arm. It is commonly said that one distinguishing mark, between the mode of carrying this staff by a bishop or by an abbot, was that the first turned the crook outwards to denote his jurisdiction over a diocese, the other inwards, towards himself, to denote that his jurisdiction reached over the members only of his own House. But the first moreover carried his staff in his left hand, the latter in his right. And according to this rule, we find many effigies. For example, there is an early monument of an abbot of Westminster, in the cloisters, with his staff in the right hand: (the crook, by the way, outwards). Again, there is a very interesting account, with a plate, in the *Archæologia*, of the discovery lately of the body of an abbot of Evesham, who died in 1263: this was found vested, with a chalice and paten; and reaching across the body with the crook turned inwards, over the right shoulder and clasped by the right arm, lay the pastoral staff; vol. 20. p. 566. See also the figure of Adam Islip, in Strutt's *Regal antiq.*: and another, in pl. lx. On the contrary, the seals and effigies of bishops represent them carrying the staff in the left hand: as, in Salisbury cathedral, the boy-bishop and bishop Jocelyn. Or compare those in Stothard's *Monumental effigies*. Before I close this note I would remark that it has been said by some that an abbot, *ad differentiam*, had a veil round his staff: this may have been true in some churches abroad, and Gavantus, tom. 1. p. 122, cites some acts of the church of Milan to that purpose: but I cannot say whether it was observed, as a distinction, in England. One thing is certain, that if it was it was not confined to abbots: because the splendid effigy of bishop John de Sheppy, in Rochester cathedral, has the staff surrounded with a veil; *Archæologia*, vol. 25. p. 122. Neither probably was it the case with exempt abbots.

Matthew Paris relates also the funeral solemnities of St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, in the year 1200. The kings of England and Scotland, three archbishops and thirteen bishops with a multitude of clergy, met the corpse. "Quod ipsi reges, cum

murdered; still with regard had to certain solemnities: "amotis distributisque ejus quotidianis vestibus superioribus, sepultus est in ipso, in quo inventus est cilicio, et famularibus interius cilicinis, exterius lineis, et in eisdem caligis, et in ipso quo erat habitu monachali. Et supra hæc, in ipso eodem in quo ordinatus fuit vestimento, alba quæ Græce poderis dicitur, superhumerali simplici, chrismatica, mitra, stola, mappula: supra quæ habuit archiepiscopaliter tunicam, dalmaticam, casulam, pallium cum spinulis, calicem, chirothecas, annulum, sandalia, pastoralem baculum; quo consuetum est more, quo dignum est honore."[14]

William of Malmesbury's account of the reception of his pall by archbishop Anselm is important: "Data ei publice potestate, ut per totum regnum primatus sui jus exerceret libere, dies præfixa, qua Albanensis episcopus cum pallio Cantuariam veniret, venienti, et sacrum insigne in vase argenteo deferenti vulgo applausum, ab archiepiscopo nudipede, sed sacerdotalibus vestimentis indutus occursum. Inde super altare domini Salvatoris pallium assumptum sacratus pontifex beatis humeris composuit, et ad divina celebranda processit."[15]

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comitibus et cæteris principibus portaverunt in humeris suis, usque ad atrium cathedralis ecclesiæ. Ad ostium autem ecclesiæ susceperunt illud archiepiscopi præfati et episcopi; et sic per ministerium prælatorum perlatum est usque in chorum, ubi est honorifice pernoctatum. . . . . Dum ipse more pontificum discooperta facie jaceret, mitram habens in capite, chirothecas in manibus, annulum in digito, cum cæteris pontificalibus ornamentis, etc." *Hist.* p. 172.

[14] *Vita*, a W. Stephanide, apud Sparkes, p. 89.

[15] *De gestis pontif. Ang.* p. 125. The historian adds; "erat tunc dies dominica, 4. Idus Junii, fuitque nonnullis ingenti miraculo, quod idem evangelium illa

I shall further cite the following from the chronicle of Gervase, relating to the reception of his pall by archbishop Hubert, A.D. 1193: "Archiepiscopus Cantuariam veniens ab episcopis Angliæ et conventu Cantuariensi honorifice et in osculo pacis vij. idus Novembris susceptus est. Deinde alba indutus et cappa, sequente conventu, nudus pedes incedens, pallium suscepit per manum nuntii Cœlestini papæ. Quo redimitus pallio cum cæteris episcopalibus indumentis, inthronizatus est, et missam celebravit."[16]

In the collection of Wilkins are several forms of the oath anciently taken by the archbishops on receiving the pall:[17] and in the year 1293 is the following "*Forma petitionis pallii.* Postulat devota

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die occurrit, quod ante prognosticon ejus fuerat." See below, p. 271, note 27. Compare also the account in Eadmer, *Hist.* lib. 2. cap. 5, who adds; "Pater etiam ipse episcopis, qui ob hoc Cantuariam venerant, dextra lævaque stipatus ac sustentatus, sacro beati Petri muneri nudis pedibus devotus occurrit. Tali devotionis cultu, pallium assumptum est, atque ab omn bus suppliciter deosculatum."

[16] *Script. X.* tom. 1. p. 1586.

[17] *Concil.* tom. 2. p. 199; tom. 3. pp. 154, 647. See also *Anglia sacra*, tom. 1. p. 372, and Gibson, *Codex juris ecc.* p. 105. It is quite clear from what Ralph de Diceto says of the nuncio, in describing the ceremony on the occasion of archbishop Hubert, that the oath frequently varied: "Qui veniens ante majus altare, triplici sacramento quod ab antiquis temporibus introductum est, adauctis quibusdam novis verborum formulis involvit archiepiscopum." *Script. X.* tom 1. p. 671.

The engagement entered into to visit the see of Rome personally or by deputy, within a certain number of years, was deferred often by leave from the pope: and in some cases the sovereign himself interfered, and in the form of a humble supplication requested the time to be prolonged: this was backed by a similar missive directed to the cardinals for their interposition. See Rymer, *Fœdera*, tom. 2. pars 2. p. 84, and again, p. 127.

vestra filia ecclesia Christi Cantuar. concedi pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum electo suo consecrato, ut habeat plenitudinem officii; et pro hoc instanter et fortiter supplicat sanctitati vestræ." In the same place is a "*Forma traditionis pallii*," differing from that in the office below: this is said to be taken from the registers of Canterbury: "Ad honorem Dei omnipotentis, et B. Mariæ virginis, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et domini papæ Cœlestini, et S. Romanæ ecclesiæ, necnon ecclesiæ tibi commissæ, tradimus tibi pallium de corpore Petri sumptum, plenitudinem scil. pontificalis officii; ut utaris eo infra ecclesiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in privilegiis ab apostolica sede concessis."[18]

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[18] *Concil.* tom. 2. p. 199. I must refer the reader to the letters of the pope on the enthronisation of Simon de Mepham, A.D. 1328, "et de pallii receptione." *Ibid.* p. 544.

The frequent reference which the student will find to the pall being "de corpore beati Petri" relates to the circumstance that they were not made (if I may so call it) at the high altar of the church of St. Peter, but at the altar over the supposed tomb of the apostle: and the benediction being completed, the pall was left one night upon that altar. As to the doctrine of the plenitude of the episcopal office being conveyed by it, I extract the following important observations of van Espen: "Id tamen nequaquam hoc sensu accipiendum est, quasi ipsum pallium aliquam revera ordinis potestatem ipsi consecrato tribueret; cum sit merum externum aliquod ornamentum; sed quod ante illius receptionem ex jure mere positivo, seu consuetudine jam recepta, metropolitani nec suas functiones obire, nec nomen archiepiscopi assumere queant; quæ disciplina quo præcise tempore invaluerit, incertum est; videtur autem tempore conc. viij. œcumenici saltem in oriente fuisse nota: et ex oriente ad Latinam ecclesiam transiisse." *Jus eccles.* tom. I. p. 171. More may be found in Ferraris, *Prompta bibl.*, *verb.* archiepiscopus, art. iij.

Royal and episcopal receptions.

The next order is that which was appointed to be used upon the occasion of solemnly receiving either at a city, or cathedral, or abbey, any sovereign, legate, cardinal, or bishop. The custom that the clergy of the place, at which such a personage was to arrive, should go forth in procession to meet him and conduct him to the church is of very remote antiquity, as may be seen by many accounts to be found in the acta sanctorum, or in the collection of lives by Surius: and again, we may remember the well-known reference made by St. Gregory Nazianzen to the reception of St. Athanasius after his return from exile, or the procession with which St. Chrysostom met Epiphanius, in the succeeding century.[19]

As of bishops so also we find, in later times, many examples of legates received with the due solemnities. Matthew Paris relating the arrival of the legate Otho, whose *Constitutions* afterwards published are so famous and of such high authority, thus describes his reception: "occurrerunt ei epi-

[19] Sozomen, *Hist. ecc.* lib. 8. cap. xiv: "Eum ingredientem Joannes occursu cleri totius honoravit." A mark of respect of which, in this particular case, the bishop afterwards showed himself scarcely worthy. I would add this illustration also from the life of Cæsar Arelatensis: "Ubi autem percrebuit hominem Dei reverti jamque eum urbi propinquare, omnes utriusque sexus cum crucibus et cereis ei processere obviam, psallentes et ingressum ejus opperientes." *Apud Surium*, Aug. xxvij.

scopi et clerici famosi usque ad littus:—rex autem ei usque ad confinium maris occurrit; et inclinato ad genua ejus capite, usque ad interiora regni deduxit officiose. Et adventantes episcopi, cum abbatibus, et aliis ecclesiarum prælatis, eum cum omni honore et reverentia, cum processionibus et campanarum classico, receperunt."[20]

The following is an early example in the English church of the reception of a bishop: the *Historia Eliensis,* speaking of St. Wulstan, says: "qualis denique vir iste apud Deum semper extiterit, circa vitæ finem evidenter apparuit, quodam enim tempore contigit eum hanc ecclesiam orationis causa visitare, cui fratres loci processionaliter cum magna ut decuit reverentia occurrerunt, cumque jam in ecclesiam fuisset deductus, et in capite processionis episcopali more baculo pastorali staret innixus; subito," etc.[21] The reader will probably remember the well-known account given us by Bede of Ethelbert's reception of St. Augustine in the open air, for fear of some magical influence: "at illi non dæmonica sed divina virtute præditi veniebant cru-

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[20] *Hist. Angl.* p. 371. A.D. 1237. This is not the place to enter upon the history, and functions, and dignity of the legates of the church of Rome. I shall merely remind the reader that the canonists make three distinctions of legates: viz. (to adopt the words of van Espen), "Legati *a latere* vocantur legati cardinales: quia assumuntur de latere papæ... Legati *missi* sunt, qui mittuntur ad aliquam provinciam, sed non sunt cardinales: et hujus generis esse solent hodierni *nuntii* et *internuntii,* apud reges et principes, tanquam legati pontificis residentes... Legati *nati* vocantur, qui dignitati suæ ecclesiasticæ officium et munus legati apostolici annexum habent." *Jus eccles.* pars 1. tit. xxi. The whole title should be consulted; and Thomassin, *De benef.* ii. lib. 1. 52.

[21] *Script. X V.* tom. 3. p. 506.

cem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam et imaginem domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam."[22]

From about the twelfth century it was usual to receive all bishops, on their visitations and progresses through their dioceses, with ringing of bells: and there are frequent entries in ancient parish records of payments on that account. A foreign canon gives a just reason for this observance: "Mandamus, et statuimus, quod quotiescunque episcopi per civitates suas et diœceses transierint, rectores, seu clerici ecclesiarum, qui sciverint eos per suas parochias transire, campanas pulsent seu pulsari faciant, ita quod populus audire possit et exire, et genua flectere ad benedictionem suscipiendam."[23] I must refer the reader to the appendix to Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*[24] for an "Ordo ad recipiendum episcopum," according to the use of that church; but he does not state at what date.

There are several notices in the chronicles of royal receptions. I extract one only; the place was St. Alban's, in the time of Richard the second: "Finitis vesperis cum processione solemni obviam regi processum est ab abbate et conventu ad occidentale ostium monasterii, acceptusque est honorifice cum pulsationibus campanorum, cantuque tam debito quam devoto."[25] These royal visits were

[22] *Hist. eccles.* lib. I. cap. 25. Compare the end of the same chapter.

[23] *Concil. Raven.* can. 6. A.D. 1314.

[24] p. 238. And compare for a reception of an abbot of St. Alban's, processionaliter, Matt. Paris, *Vitæ abbatum*, p. 1051.

[25] Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* p. 274. A curious circumstance regarding queen Philippa at Durham is related by R. de Graystanes; *Anglia sacra*, tom. I. p. 760.

not always so acceptable, it would seem, as they ought to have been: the same author tells us soon after; "dum hæc aguntur, rex Angliæ et regina cum suis Boemiis abbathias regni circuunt visitando, quibus tanto tristior fuerit eorum adventus, quanto gravior, quia et accesserunt in excessivo numero et non offerre sed auferre venerunt."[26]

I must not omit one of the latest examples which we have before the reformation; after which period the ancient religious ceremonies on such occasions were, of course, no longer observed. In the summer of 1541 Henry the eighth made a progress, and a contemporary account has been preserved of his entry into Lincoln. We are concerned only with one part of the ceremony, at his approach to the cathedral. "Item, the bushoppe of lyncolne wth all thole queere and crosse were readye, and stodde in the mynster alonge on bothe sydes the bodye of the churche, gyvinge attend'unce, and when his grace was alyghtid at the weste ende of the mynster, where were ordenyd and spred as well carpett as stooles wth quyssheons of clothe of golde, for the kyng's hyghnes, wheron was a crucyfyx laid, and one other on the queenes grace's stoole. Item, aftre his grace was kneelid downe the busshoppe came forthe of the churche and gaue the crucyfyx to the kinge to kysse, and then to the queene, and then censyd them, hys myter beinge on hys heade, and thus proceaded they into the churche, the kinge

[26] *Ibid.* p. 302. In this "ruinous" progress the abbey of Bury is especially mentioned as having suffered the severe infliction of a ten days' visit; at an expense, besides other losses, of 800 marks. The historian does not tell us what joyful processions took place on the occasion of the royal departure.

and queenes grace goinge vndre the canape to the sacrement, where they made theyre prayers, thole queere synginge melodyouslye *Te Deum*, and aftre this don, his grace went strayght to his lodginge."[27]

Benediction of banners.

The offices of benediction of a processional or military banner and of an episcopal seal will sufficiently explain themselves. The practice of consecrating military standards is very ancient: Charles Martel is said to have received one, consecrated and sent to him by pope Gregory the third. William the conqueror, says Ingulph, "præpropera [f. proposita] querela papam consuluit, et ab eo animatus etiam vexillum legitimæ victoriæ pro munere accepit."[28] The prior of Hexham in his history of the battle of the standard, in 1135, not only relates how the holy banner of St. Peter was delivered to the barons by the archbishop of York but also as follows: "Mox autem aliqui eorum in medio cujusdam machinæ quam ibi adduxerant, unius navis malum erexerunt, quod *Standard* appellaverunt: unde Hugo Eborac. archidiaconus:

[27] *Archæologia*, vol. 23. p. 338. Communicated by Sir F. Madden: who observes, as giving a further interest to this instance; "the queen's guilt (Catharine Howard) it will be remembered with Thomas Culpeper, was established by evidence of the fatal night she passed at Lincoln." Compare also the very interesting account of a reception of Henry the sixth at Bury St. Edmund's, from a register of that abbey: also printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. 15. p. 66.

[28] *Hist.* p. 69, *script. Anglic.* tom. 1.

'Dicitur a stando standardum, quod stetit illic
Militiæ probitas vincere sive mori.'

In summitate vero ipsius arboris quandam argenteam pixidem cum corpore Christi, et sanctorum Petri apostoli, et Joannis Beverlacensis, et Wilfridi Ripensis confessorum ac pontificum vexilla suspenderunt."[29]

FORM OF DEGRADATION.

The antiquity of the punishment of degradation, the order of which is edited in the present volume, is so well known to every reader of ecclesiastical history that I need not delay upon it. The apostolical canons, and those of Nice, of St. Basil, and of Peter of Alexandria, all prove the universality of the practice: and although the severity of it differed at various times and in various churches, some degrading altogether, some only from a higher to a lower order, yet degradation as a mode of punishment seems everywhere and at all times to have been acknowledged and inflicted.[30]

Both theologians and canonists not unfrequently confound deposition and degradation: and indeed in one sense, perhaps the most ancient, they may be regarded as the same: but strictly in later practice

[29] Ricardus Hagulstad. de gestis R. Stephani, *Script. X.* tom. 1. p. 322.

[30] The student will do well to consult Martene, *De ant. ecc. rit.* 2. p. 317, and to examine the canonists, especially van Espen, *Jus eccles.* par. 3. tit. xj, and the notes of Balsamon and Zonaras, *Bevereg. pandect.*, upon the conflicting canons of Nice and Chalcedon: the latter of which would not permit the more modified form of degradation, that is to say, from a higher order to a lower.

there was a difference between the two. Simple deposition prohibited a clerk either from exercising the powers of his order or any ecclesiastical office; or from receiving the revenues of his benefice: but it did not remove him from the spiritual and subject him to lay jurisdiction. On the contrary, degradation included the infliction of all the penalties which accompanied deposition and committed the offender also to the power of the temporal courts; depriving him of all the privileges and immunities attached to the clergy. But neither the one nor the other, neither deposition nor degradation, took away either the character of the priesthood which is indelible or the power to consecrate the eucharist. To exercise such a power would be unlawful and an additional offence: but, as the canonists and theologians say, "hæc potestas est simpliciter inimpedibilis." The power to absolve a person *in articulo mortis* would remain, and might lawfully be exercised.

The settled form of degradation as it is below was but of late introduction. We have no records in the earliest pontificals which are extant of the manner in which very anciently this solemnity was performed: still it is scarcely probable that no form or order was observed. I quote the following from Catalani: "Consuevisse depositionis sententiam calamo Christi sanguine intincto desumpto è sacro calice scribi, duo extant insignia exempla apud scriptores ecclesiasticos. Alterum refert Theophanes, ubi ait, Theodorum papam eo ritu sententiam depositionis contra Pyrrhum scripsisse: alterum narrat Nicetas in vita S. Ignatii patriarchæ Constantinopolitani, ubi depositionem Photii describit."[40]

[40] *Comment. in pontif. Rom.* tom. 3. p. 138.

One or two illustrations of this office relating to the English church are all that our space allows. We have in Wilkins a bull directed to cardinal Wolsey dispensing with the necessity of a certain number of bishops to be always present on the occasion; and that, on account of the difficulty of collecting the proper number, one bishop might have authority to degrade criminous priests "adjunctis secum seu sibi assistentibus duobus abbatibus, seu dignitates seculares in cathedralibus seu collegiatis ecclesiis obtinentibus."[41] In the same collection is the full order, as it was to be observed at the degradation of archbishop Cranmer: ending with the usual formula, upon delivery to the civil power, "Domine judex, rogamus vos cum omni affectu, quo possumus, ut amore Dei, pietatis et misericordiæ intuitu et nostrorum interventu precaminum, miserrimo huic nullum mortis vel mutilationis periculum inferas."[42] I must say that notwithstanding the construction which may perhaps justly and properly be put upon this clause in some cases, evidencing the fulness of mercy and pity which befits the Church of Christ, yet in the instance of archbishop Cranmer and of many others in that

[41] *Concil.* tom. 3. p. 713. By the "Reformatio legum," the bishop of the diocese might alone with two priests deprive or degrade: "Quando cuiquam vel diripi dignitas, vel eripi beneficium ecclesiasticum formula deprivationis debet, principio proprius illum episcopus ad se rite evocet: deinde ad reliquum omne negotium pertractandum episcopus adsit, et duos ad se doctos et integros presbyteros asciscat, quorum authoritate et decreto stari placet." *De depriv.* cap. 3. The maxim upon which the ancient rule rested was: "spiritualia facilius construuntur, quam destruuntur; quia solus episcopus dat ordinem, quem solus tollere non potest." Gibson, *Codex*, p. 1068.

[42] *Ibid.* tom. 4. p. 136.

day it was nothing but a horrible and disgraceful mockery. The ministers and rulers of the Church could not themselves canonically inflict the punishment of death; but they knew well what would be the sure effect of their delivering up of men, whom they had condemned as heretics, to the civil power. They were delivered not to be forgiven, not even to be mercifully dealt with, but to receive at the hands of others an appointed and barbarous punishment. We can look upon such a recommendation in no other light than we should now regard the conduct of a judge who, having passed sentence, should render the criminal into the hands of the executioner and with every outward sign of solemn supplication entreat that that sentence might not take effect which he had himself decreed. Let the reader examine a writ "de hæreticis comburendis," how it speaks of the church having done all that was in her power: and therefore "quod sancta mater ecclesia non habet ulterius,—tibi præcipimus firmiter injungentes, quod præfatos, etc., statim post receptionem præsentium apud villam nostram de B. . . . . coram populo igni committi, et in eodem igne realiter comburi facias, in hujusmodi criminis detestationem, aliorumque christianorum exemplum manifestum." Or again let him remember that, about the year 1521, among a number of doctrines condemned as heretical and pestiferous was this: "hæreticos comburi est contra voluntatem Spiritus."[43]

[43] *Concil.* tom. 3. p. 693. Besides the authorities above named, I would recommend the reader to refer also to Alberti, *de sacr. utens.* c. xvj. 2; Ferraris, *Bibl., verb.* degradatio; Benedict XIV. *de synodo*, lib. vij; Hostiensis, *in summa*, lib. 5. rubr. 7; and to the later canonists, Bonacina, Devoti, &c.

In the chronicle of John abbot of Peterborough we have the following cases under the year 1222: he is speaking of the famous council at Oxford: "in concilio illo sacerdos quidam et diaconus sunt degradati a domino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo: sacerdos pro homicidio, diaconus pro sacrilegio et furto. Diaconus alius, qui ad Judaismum a fide apostataverat, et se fecerat circumcidi, extra ecclesiam degradatus fuit a domino Cantuar. coram populo, et post degradationem traditus judicio laicalis curiæ, igne comburitur. In degradando, cum archiepiscopus casulam, vel stolam, vel aliud quid baculi pastoralis extremitate sullevando amoveret, hiis terminis usus est: Exautoramus te."[44] From an instance related by Matthew Paris of the deposition of an abbot of Westminster we may conclude that in such cases the breaking of his official seal formed a part of the solemnity: "Illis diebus per prædictum legatum depositus est Radulphus abbas West. per .*N*. abbatem de Wastham, missum ex parte legati, fracto ipsius sigillo in capitulo."[45]

An English manuscript of the fourteenth century in the British museum, containing in two very thick folio volumes a collection of explanations and decisions about rites, ceremonies, and discipline, has a small illumination (fol. 149) of the degradation of a

[44] Edit. Sparkes, p. 100. Two other examples of impiety were brought forward on the same occasion, which may be mentioned on account of the punishment which was inflicted: "Ductus est etiam in concilio laicus quidam, qui se promiserat crucifigi, etc. Adducta est etiam quædam mulier quæ se Mariam nominabat, et dixerat quod missam poterat celebrare, ad quod calicem et patenam habebat: hii duo in muris lapideis inclusi vitam terminarunt, non cum Domino resurgentes."

[45] *Hist. Angl.* p. 210, A.D. 1214.

priest. The bishop is standing; and the priest, also standing, bends his head down and lifts up his hands.

As to restitution after deposition or degradation Martene in the place above cited quotes a canon of the fourth council of Toledo: "Episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus, si a gradu suo injuste dejectus in secunda synodo innocens reperiatur, non potest esse quod fuerat, nisi gradus amissos recipiat coram altari, de manu episcopi orarium, annulum, et baculum; si presbyter, orarium et planetam; si diaconus, orarium et albam; si subdiaconus, patenam et calicem. Sic et reliqui gradus ea in reparationem sui recipiant, quæ cum ordinarentur perceperunt." This restitution would be allowed the more easily to persons deposed from orders lower than the priesthood. In early times the fathers seem to have leant to the side of lenience on this question, and criminous priests were restored after sincere repentance and a manifest purpose to lead a good life. St. Gregory the great insisted on a more strict discipline, and forbade under any circumstances the restoration of a degraded priest. In after ages, the difficulty seldom, if ever, occurred: priests were degraded when their crimes were so great that there could be but one consequence, namely, to be given over to the civil power, which meant death.

Offices of Excommunication, etc.

I have still a few words to say upon the three offices with which these volumes conclude: the offices of excommunication, of absolution, and of receiving an apostate returning from infidelity or Judaism.

The rubric of the modern Roman pontifical makes

three distinctions or degrees of excommunication: "Notandum quod triplex est excommunicatio, videlicet, minor, major, et anathema." Excommunication in the first ages of the Church appears to have been of one kind only, and the greatest writers on the subject do not seem to lay down any other mark of difference between the greater excommunication and anathema than arises from the greater solemnity with which the one is published and inflicted than the other. Ducange after allowing that anciently there was no distinction cites, it must be acknowledged, one or two strong examples in which something more than mere solemnities and ceremonies gave heavier weight to the anathema; so that it might be regarded as not merely an excommunication, but an actual giving over to Satan and to the pains of hell. Van Espen, however, decides: "fatentur passim recentiores, qui hac etiam distinctione utuntur, eam non nisi accidentalem dici posse: sive excommunicationem majorem et anathema non differre, nisi penes minorem majoremque solemnitatem in pronuntiatione adhiberi solitam. Et quidem supra vidimus, quod Fagnanus adhibita distinctione inter excommunicationem majorem et anathema mox monuerit, excommunicationem majorem intelligi quæ fertur sine solemnitate; anathema vero illam, quæ fertur cum solemnitate."[46] And Catalani agrees with him in a passage which I shall also quote as it goes far to explain the difficulty arising from the quotations from various authors by Ducange, which has been alluded to: "Quamvis autem tertium excommunicationis genus anathema dicatur;

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[46] *Tract. de. cens. ecc.*, *Opera*, tom. 4. p. 9.

sciendum tamen et illud est, idem re ipsa esse anathema, ac major excommunicatio, solumque ab ista illud distingui quantum ad solemnitatem, quia scilicet solemni ritu, ac cæremoniis majorem terrorem incutientibus peccatorem contumacem ecclesia execretur, dirisque devoveat. Per quasdam itaque solemnitates, quæ in simplici majori excommunicatione non usurpantur, quæque aliquid horribilius ad incutiendum horrorem continent, accidentario, ut aiunt, excommunicatio ab anathemate secernitur. Ubi cum reus est simpliciter contumax, decernitur feriendus simplici majori excommunicatione, quod si evectus in superbiam, fiat ulterius protervus et contumax, dicitur feriendus anathemate, idest mandatur repeti excommunicationem, adjunctis horrificis solemnitatibus."[47]

The office in the Sarum pontifical has no rubric at the beginning, and is to be understood also as to be used for the anathema, according to the number of solemnities which accompanied the publication. Indeed from Lyndwood's manner of expression it would seem as if the office relates solely to the anathema; for we shall see presently that every parish priest had the power of excommunicating offenders: he further explains this office to be the solemn excommunication "quæ dicitur anathema." The same canonist also, it must be remembered, tells us that when, as in the title of this office, the term is used without any addition we are to understand the greater kind: "Excommunicatio simpliciter prolata, intelligitur de majori."[48] The

[47] *Pontif. Rom. comment.* tom. 3. p. 169.

[48] Lib. 1. tit. 18, Exhorrenda, *verb.* Excommunicationi. Compare also lib. 3. tit. 2, Ut clericalis, *verb.* mucrone.

lesser excommunication was incurred by those who still continued their intercourse with any one who lay under the sentence of the greater excommunication: and as regarded people generally its effect is thus explained by Catalani: "Eum, qui ea innodatus est, excludit non quidem a collatione, sed a receptione sacramentorum."[49] And by Lyndwood: "excludit a perceptione sacramentorum, non autem a communione fidelium."[50]

In earlier ages we have reason to believe that there was no such distinction as the lesser excommunication: but that the rule was "qui excommunicato, antequam ab eo qui eum excommunicaverit absolvatur, scienter communicare præsumpserit, pari sententiæ teneatur obnoxius."[51] The relaxation crept in about the thirteenth century, and this distinction was made: "qui cum excommunicato communicat in crimine, in majorem excommunicationem incurrat. Si vero cum illo communicet in divinis vel civilibus actionibus, et ab ejus crimine alienus sit, minorem dumtaxat excommunicationem incurrat." Morinus however draws four distinctions, which he says were very anciently observed: men were first excluded from communion, then from the prayers of the faithful, then from the prayers "super catechumenos et pœnitentes," and lastly from all entrance into the church.[52]

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[49] *Pontif. Rom. comment.* tom. 3. p. 169.

[50] Lib. 3. tit. 2, Ut clericalis, *verb.* Sacramenta.

[51] Cf. *Concil.* tom. 1. pp. 578, 636; tom. 2. p. 153. In 1481, John Benet was excommunicated for assisting a woman excommunicated; and Alicia Bate "for kepyng a woman in her house that is a curst." *Precedents in criminal causes*, nos. xiv, xv.

[52] *De pœnit.* lib. vi. cap. 25.

The act of the anathema with its full solemnities could not be performed except by a bishop: but according to Lyndwood every curate, and in those days all curates were priests, had power to lay his parishioner under the censures of the church and debar him from communion; in short, pronounce against him the greater excommunication but not the anathema: "quia talis excommunicatio dicitur mucro episcopalis: absque tamen illa solemnitate bene potest excommunicare."[53]

Van Espen says that in the first ages of the Church there were no special forms of excommunication nor rites with which it was accompanied: but that the crime and the defence of the accused having been accurately investigated, the bishop "adhibito clero suo, sententiam excommunicationis simpliciter, nullo externo aut speciali ritu adhibito, pronuntiabat."[54] He goes on to tell us that these fixed ceremonies were introduced about the ninth century, in order to attach greater weight to the ecclesiastical sentence, and produce a lively and wholesome terror in the

In proof of the early attention which the church turned to this subject the reader will remember the tenth of the apostolical canons: "Si quis cum excommunicato vel in domo una precatus fuerit, is segregetur." Balsamon's comment is of importance: "ἀκοινωνησίας, id est excommunicationis, vocabulum, idem est quod segregatio. Qui ergo una cum excommunicato quomodocunque precatus fuerit, segregabitur." And more so of Zonaras: "Qui separantur, ob peccata videlicet separantur. His igitur nullos oportet communicare. Hoc enim respicit ad ejus contemptum qui separavit: aut potius ad ejus calumniam, tanquam qui male separaverit. Si quis igitur una cum excommunicato (vel segregato) orabit, etiamsi non in ecclesia sed in domo, pariter et hic excommunicabitur." Beverege, *Pandect. can.* tom. 1. p. 7.

[53] Lib. 3. tit. 16, Quoniam propter, *verb.* Censuram.

[54] Pars 3. tit. xi. cap. 9.

minds of the people. On the other hand, there appears to be evidence of some certain, though few, observances before this time: at least Regino Prumiensis, who flourished late in the ninth century, speaks of the extinction of candles as no new introduction:[55] and Catalani cites a passage, which if genuine puts the question beyond dispute, from an epistle of pope Zachary who wrote about A.D. 744. The pope decides thus: "Debent duodecim sacerdotes episcopo circumstare, et lucernas ardentes in manibus tenere, quas in conclusione anathematis projicere debent in terram, et conculcare pedibus."[56] I may add that in the first ordo published by Martene from the very famous Anglo-saxon pontifical of the ninth century there is an evident allusion to the extinguishing of candles, although the ceremony is not expressly mentioned.[57]

The rubrics which precede and follow the form of pronouncing the anathema in the modern Roman pontifical are these: "Quando vero anathema, id est, solemnis excommunicatio pro gravioribus culpis fieri debet, pontifex paratus amictu, stola, pluviali violaceo, et mitra simplici, assistentibus sibi duodecim presbyteris superpelliceis indutis, et tam ipso quam presbyteris candelas ardentes in manibus tenentibus, sedet super faldistorium ante altare majus, aut alio loco publico, ubi magis sibi placebit, et ibi pronuntiat, et profert anathema." "Quo facto, tam pontifex quam sacerdotes debent projicere in

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[55] *De discip. eccles.* cap. 412. But he attaches to it the title "Alia terribilior excommunicatio," i. e. the anathema.

[56] Zach. *epist.* cit. Catal. *Pontif. Rom. comment.* tom. 3. p. 178.

[57] *De ant. ecc. rit.* lib. 3. cap. 4.

terram candelas ardentes, quas in manibus tenebant."[58]

Various forms of the anathema may be seen in the collections of Martene; and one, the most terrible perhaps extant, is in the *Textus Roffensis*, cap. 35,[59] which has been edited by Hearne. When the greater excommunication was to be pronounced publicly by priests in their parish churches the ceremony was usually performed from the pulpit or roodloft, after the reading of the gospel during mass. But there is an order extant of Hincmar, archbishop of Rhemes, in which he directs the priests of his diocese to promulgate this sentence after the epistle and not after the gospel; because those who were guilty of the crime denounced left the church earlier, knowing what was about to be. This order possibly had reference rather to a general form, and not to the case of an individual.[60]

The consequences of the great sentence of the Church are explained at some length in the canons

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[58] Upon the use of bells in pronouncing the excommunication Angelo Rocca should be consulted; *Opera*, tom. 1. p. 185: "Inter pulsandas campanas, candelis accensis, excommunicati publice declarabantur. Quo facto, campanarum sonitus cessabat; . . campanæ pulsabantur, ut per eorumdem sonitum, quo dæmones expelli solent, excommunicati, dæmonibus assimilati, a fidelium commercio expulsi declararentur." And so, for example, the sentence was directed to be pronounced by the constitutions of St. Edmund; A.D. 1236: "pulsatis campanis, et accensis candelis, excommunicentur." Wilkins, tom. 1. p. 640.

[59] It is extracted by Spelman in his glossary. Another form is given by Collier, *Eccles. hist.* vol. 1. p. 352.

[60] In the year 1253 a general excommunication against transgressors seems to have been very solemnly published in Westminster hall, by the archbishop of Canterbury and ten or twelve other bishops. *Chron. Lanercost.* p. 59.

of a synod of London, in the year 1138. Amongst other particulars: "Prohibemus etiam, ne sacrum oleum vel chrisma excommunicatis tradatur... Prohibemus ne divinum officium celebretur, nec campana pulsetur in urbe vel in castro, vel in rure, si aliquis excommunicatorum præsens fuerit. Statuimus etiam, ut excommunicatorum corpora insepulta maneant," etc.[61] In earlier times even heavier civil penalties were incurred. In the year 1033, among the laws of king Canute, "Si quis excommunicatum habuerit, et custodierit, luat vitam et omnem suam possessionem."[62] And once more, in the middle of the eighth century men were not allowed to give food into the hands of persons excommunicate: but to lay it on the ground before them and what they left was to be thrown to dogs: they were not to indulge in any luxuries or scarcely to be supplied with the necessaries of life. For further particulars I would refer the student to Johnson's ecclesiastical laws, A.D. 740, where these last rules are given from the "Formulæ veteres" attached to a manuscript of Egbert's excerptions, in the Cotton library.

I must here speak of a Form of Excommunication, which is printed in the third volume of this work; and which was not a particular form, that is, directed against some known individual, but general, and binding only therefore *in foro conscientiæ*, and to be publicly pronounced by the parish priest in his church at certain times of the year. One of the earliest orders to this effect was made by archbishop Hubert of Canterbury, in his legatine capacity, at

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[61] Wilkins, tom. I. p. 417. [62] *Ibid.* p. 309.

York A.D. 1195: "Ut calumniatorum improbitas, et temere jurantium malitia timore cœlestis judicii retundatur; præcipimus, ut quilibet sacerdos de cætero ter in anno solemniter, accensis candelis, pulsatisque campanis, eos excommunicet," etc.[63]

But, without extracting several such orders which were passed in the succeeding centuries, I pass on to the constitution of archbishop Peckham, which I take from the text of Lyndwood: "Præcipimus, quod sententiæ majoris excommunicationis promulgentur in ecclesiis quater in anno, videlicet die dominica proxima post festum S. Michaelis, et die dominica in medio quadragesimæ, et in festo sanctæ Trinitatis, et in die dominica proxima post festum sancti Petri ad vincula, candelis accensis et pulsatis campanis cum cruce, et aliis solennitatibus, prout decet." Upon this Lyndwood says among other remarks: "*Promulgentur.* i.e. manifestentur sive pronuncientur: et supple, in genere. *In ecclesiis.* Non ergo in mercatis, vel aliis locis etiam publicis extra ecclesiam. Puto tamen, quod si sermo fiat ad populum in cœmeterio, sufficit ut ibi promulgentur, maxime ubi cœmeterium est contiguum ecclesiæ. *Candelis accensis.* Et sub hac forma sententias excommunicationum promulgari ideo mandatur, ut major auditoribus incutiatur timor."[64] Another constitution of the same archbishop ordered this sentence to be pronounced also after the two diocesan synods in each year: but Lyndwood does not seem to look upon this as contradictory to the one just extracted, as it has reference (he says) only to some particular articles there specified.[65]

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[63] Wilkins, tom. 1. p. 502.

[64] Lib. 5. tit. 17, Præcipimus.

[65] Lib. v. tit. 17, Cum malum, *verb.* Ruralis.

About the year 1528 a book was printed by Redman and published anonymously: "A treatise concernynge the division betwene the spyrytualtie and temporaltie." This little tract is written in a moderate tone and spirit, with the desire of suggesting some remedies for the abuses which unquestionably existed in the Church at that time, and of healing the "divisions" which had sprung up between the clergy and the laity of the realm. It would have been well if the chief rulers of the church of England had attended to those evils, and objectionable practices, and privileges, complained of by the author; who in general took neither an unreasonable nor an extreme view of the then state of ecclesiastical affairs. Among other things he speaks of the subject now before us, the General Sentence; which makes an especial "occasion of the division:" and as his treatise is, without doubt, one of the very rarest books in existence, I shall extract his observations upon it from a copy in my possession. These will show us that the orders of the church were not in his day strictly attended to, as they ought to have been in so solemn a ceremony:—

"Thoughe there be dyuers good and reasonable articles ordeyned by the church to be redde openlye to the people at certain dayes, by the churche therto assynged, which commenly is called the general sentence: yet manye curates and theyr parysh prestes sometyme rede onely parte of the artycles, and omytte parte therof, eyther for shortnes of tyme, or els to take such artycles as serue moste to theyr purpose. And somtyme, as it is sayd, they adde other excommunicacions after their

mynde, that be not putte in to the sayde general sentence. And whan the articles be so chosen out, they sounde to so great parcialite and favour for spiritual men, eyther for payment of tythes, offerynges, mortuaries, and such other duetyes to the churche, or for the mayntenaunce of that they calle the liberties of the churche, as that no preeste nor clerke, &c. shall not be put to answere before lay men, specyallye where theyr bodyes shuld be arrested, or that no imposicions shulde be layde upon the churche by temporale power, or agaynst them that with violence lay hands upon preest or clerk, or suche other: that the people be greatly offended therby, and thynke great parcialite in them, and iuge them rather to be made of a pryde and couetise of the churche; than of any charite to the people, wherby many doo rather dyspyse them than obeye them." He goes on to say that this "division" must continue whilst such partialities both in the reading of the Sentence and in the provisions of it are allowed; and until a wholesome dread of the censures of the church can be restored by the reformation of the "heedes spyrytuall themselfe;" and by the "lyke articles being devised to refrayne spyrytuall men" no less than the "temporaltie." These he recommends to "be redde at visitations, seenes, [*synods?*] and such other lyke places, where prestes assemble by commandement of theyr ordinaries, with certayne paynes to be appoynted by parlyament and convocation."[66]

[66] Chapter v. fol. 12. *b.* In another place the author complains of some parish-priests that, "it hath bene somtyme sene, that whan a poore man hath ben sette to be houseled, the curate hathe before all the parysshe upon some displeasure

Several of the general forms of excommunication are in the collections of Wilkins.[67] It would seem that in the year 1434 these orders had been of late neglected; and a statute with an English form attached, insisting upon all parish-priests publishing

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caused hym to ryse and goo awaye without housell, to his rebuke." This displeasure not being caused by any worthy reason, but by some merely personal and commonly pecuniary dispute or difference. Chapter x. fol. 27.

[67] Tom. 2. pp. 161, 300, 413; tom. 3. pp. 95, 524, &c. See also in Collier, *Ecc. hist.* vol. 1. p. 664, for a short English form; which is also in Johnson, A.D. 1434, and in the appendix to Lyndwood, p. 73. Collier has given one of the Greater forms, to which I would add another of about 1220 from the Cotton MS. Vespasian D. xi. fol. 108:—

"Ex auctoritate Dei Patris omnipotentis, et Filii ejus domini nostri Jesu Christi, et in virtute Spiritus sancti, et beatæ gloriosæ Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariæ, sanctissimi archangeli Michael, et omnium sanctorum angelorum et archangelorum, sancti Johannis baptistæ et omnium sanctorum, patriarcharum et prophetarum, apostolorum principis sancti Petri et omnium apostolorum et evangelistarum, sancti Adhelberti et omnium sanctorum martyrum, sanctissimi confessoris Benedicti et omnium sanctorum confessorum, sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ et omnium sanctarum virginum, et cœlestium virtutum, omniumque simul sanctorum, totiusque ordinis nostri ministerii, excommunicamus et anathematizamus, maledicimus et a liminibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ sequestramus, illos malefactores quos supra nominamus. Maledicti sint in omni loco et in omni negotio. Maledicti sint in ambulando, sedendo, stando, laborando, comedendo, bibendo, vigilando, quiescendo, dormiendo, navigando, loquendo, tacendo. Maledicti sint in mari, et in via. Maledicti sint et in terra. Maledicti sint a planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis. Non sit in eis sanitas. Sit illis pars cum Dathan et Abiron, quos vivos terra absorbuit, et cum Juda traditore Domini, et cum his qui domino Deo dixerunt, recede a nobis, viam scientiarum tuarum nolumus. Veniat mors super illos et descendant in infernum viventes, et sicut fluit cera a facie ignis sic extinguantur lucernæ eorum ante viventem in sæcula sæculorum, et pereant peccatores a facie Dei, nisi resipuerint, et ad satisfactionem venerint. Amen. fiat. fiat."

them at certain times of the year, was made by archbishop Chicheley. This appoints at least three times every year, in cathedrals and in parish churches; and that the articles of excommunication should be read "plene, perfecte, ac distincte, inter missarum solennia." And again it is repeated, that every bishop should take care that throughout his diocese this should be done "in vulgari, publice et aperte coram populo inter missarum solennia."[68] But if we are to believe a manuscript which Becon quotes from, this "inter missarum solennia" must be taken in a somewhat wide sense; for he says, "the olde written boke saythe, the prieste must take hede that he reade not on the foresayde sondayes the generall sentence at masse-time after ye gospel, as certain undiscreete priests do, by this meanes interrupting the masse: but he shal read it either immediatly after the aspersion or sprinckling of ye holy water, or els after the procession."[69] Certainly there was not the same necessity as in the case of the greater excommunication, that the General Sentence should be pronounced after the gospel.

All the forms of the greater excommunication which have been published of late years are short, and from the provincial councils. I have edited the valuable Order which occurs in some of the earlier editions of the Sarum manual: and I cannot doubt but that the reader will find in it many important matters, especially relating to the rubrics of the offices contained in this volume: of baptism, of marriage, of absolution of the sick, and of burial.

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[68] Lyndwood, Ap. p. 73.

[69] *Reliques of Rome*, fol. 243.

The only liberty which I have taken with the text has been to correct a few evident errors (not unlikely to arise from the fact of these books being printed abroad, by persons ignorant of our language), and to omit the frequent references which the original contains to the canon law.

The Form of Absolution which follows the excommunication is so placed in the Sarum pontifical, from which it has been taken.[70] It does not, however, seem to be more than a recommended order; not adopted with full authority into the use of the church of Sarum but, as it were, borrowed from the neighbouring diocese of Exeter. The bishop mentioned in the first rubric was possibly John Grandisson, one of the most celebrated and learned prelates of that church and a bountiful benefactor. Connected with this form and the penance which it enjoins it will not seem out of the way to add an extract from the register of Quivil, bishop of Exeter in 1280, for which I am indebted to a very learned friend.[71] He says, "In fol. 120 of that register we read, that Jane Baschet, who had been convicted of an adulterous intercourse with Richard de Grenville and had got a child by him, on 10th March 1282 appeared before the bishop at Totnes, and formally declared her separation from him: the bishop required,—quod Johanna stet singulis dominicis et festivis extra ecclesiam Bideford per totam quadragesimam, usque ad diem Jovis proximam

[70] Matthew Paris has given us a somewhat particular account of the ceremonial absolution of king John, in 1213; *Hist. Angl.* p. 200.

[71] The late Rev. Dr. Oliver, editor of the *Monast. diœc. Exon.* &c.

ante pascha, et tunc veniet apud Exon. reconcilianda, *ut est moris.*"

Absolution was occasionally granted to persons after death; chiefly, as it would seem, that they might obtain the rites of Christian burial. A commission from the archbishop of Canterbury for this purpose is printed in the *Concilia.* A certain man had died excommunicate, and not only an absolution is ordered to be pronounced but prayers and psalms, usual at such solemnities. What these were does not appear.[72] This was in the year 1326. Another was granted in 1369; also by the archbishop. Some years ago a stone coffin was discovered in the cloisters of Chichester cathedral, close by which was found a thin plate of lead or other metal, with a form of absolution granted to Geoffry bishop of Chichester in 1088.[73] It is not improbable that in such cases, namely, of persons absolved after death from ecclesiastical censures, the absolution was buried with them.

The order for reconciling an apostate, or heretic, will also require but one or two observations. Apostate is not here to be taken in its most strict and canonical sense to mean a person who having been in holy orders, or taken a religious vow upon him, had turned back to a secular life; but includes persons of any class who, deserting the Christian faith, had fallen away into Judaism or infidelity. These, as well as schismatics and heretics, could not be received again into the communion of the Church except by a proper form.

Several ancient orders "ad reconciliandos hære-

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[72] Tom. 2. p. 531. [73] *Archæol.* vol. 23. p. 419.

ticos" may be found in Martene; who speaks of three modes which from time to time prevailed, sometimes alone, sometimes together: viz. by imposition of hands; by anointing with the chrism; by a profession of the true faith.[74] The same writer cites the 31st of the Arabic canons of the council of Nice; which although not genuine, are yet of great antiquity: "Si quis ad fidem orthodoxam convertatur, recipiendus est in ecclesiam per manus episcopi vel presbyteri, qui præcipere ei debet, ut anathematizet cunctos qui contra fidem orthodoxam faciunt, et qui apostolicæ fidei contradicunt. Debetque anathematizare Arium et hæresim ejus, et aperte fidem profiteri, quam in hac perfecta confessione definivimus, ac sincere fidelis esse. Oportet etiam anathematizare eos qui huic fidei non credunt, et eam non recipiunt. Et postquam hæc fecerit, accipiat eum episcopus vel sacerdos ad cujus potestatem pertinet: et ungat eum unctione chrismatis, et signet ter ungendo, et orando super eum orationem Dionysii Areopagitæ, et fiat oratio ad Deum pro eo devote, ut recipiat eum. Et postea erit particeps divinorum sacramentorum, et communionis, per quam fit remissio peccatorum."

The pontifical of bishop Lacy, preserved in the exchequer chamber of the cathedral of Exeter, has a form for receiving an apostate into communion similar in all respects (with a few verbal exceptions) to the use of the church of Salisbury. The same form is in an imperfect copy of an English pontifical in the British museum, Lansdown MS. 451. In the later volumes of Wilkins' *Concilia* we have

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[74] *De ant. ecc. rit.* lib. 3. cap. vj.

frequent examples of abjurations of heresy: in the year 1396, an oath which was to be taken by all Lollards returning to the faith: in 1425, the abjuration of Robert Hoke: in 1427, of William Russell: with several more.[75] These being part of the records and of the business of convocations, relating also to important cases, are probably more full in their particulars than commonly were required, yet may serve as examples of the usual practice. For we must not conclude that the very general renunciation of error and heresy which the form appoints was all that was held necessary. Preliminary examinations and probation were first to be gone through, and the apostate or the heretic was at last admitted by the public order of reception once more into full communion with the Church of Christ.

I have only now to add that all the offices in this volume, except where otherwise stated in the notes below, are edited from the same manuscript, a pontifical of the use of Sarum, described in the first volume of this work, in the dissertation on service books; and from which several of the offices in that first volume have also been taken.

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[75] Tom. 3. pp. 225, 437, 457; cf. 258, 431, 439, 503, &c.

Electio et Consecratio atque Coronatio novi Regis.

Ordo novum Regem in regno Constituendi.[1]

CONSTITUTO hujusmodi actionis die, summo mane dominus metropolitanus, et cæteri præsules,[2] cum clero in ecclesia congregentur, ut grex Christi, quid populo suo Christus inspiraverit, cum mentis devotione præstolantes.

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[1] The order of the coronation of king Ethelred, A.D. 978, preserved in the British museum, Cotton MS. Claudius, A. iij, has the following short rubric at the commencement:—

"Incipit consecratio regis, quem de conventu seniorum per manus producant duo episcopi ad ecclesiam, et clerus hanc decantet antiphonam duobus episcopis præcinentibus. 'Firmetur,' &c."

In the same volume is contained the order of the coronation of king Henry the first. This begins with the following rubric, and with it agree another MS. in the same collection, Tiberius, B. viij; the Winchester pontifical; an imperfect Sarum MS. in the Bodleian, Rawl. C. 450; and a MS. pontifical, also imperfect, in Trinity college, Dublin, MS. B. 3. 6:—

"Incipit consecratio regis. Consecrandum regem de conventu seniorum duo episcopi per manus producant ad ecclesiam, et chorus decantet antiphonam: 'Firmetur,' &c."

The order for Edward the second (Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 425) has a longer rubric, viz. "Ordo novum regem in regno constituendi.

"Die quo consecrandus est novus rex, summo mane conveniant prælati et nobiles in palatio regali apud Westmonasterium, tractaturi de novi consecratione principis, et de legibus et consuetudinibus regni confirmandis, et firmiter statuendis: ita quod provideatur aliquis locus in dicto palatio, super quem hæres regis regnaturus, cum omni mansuetudine et reverentia, elevetur, ipso tamen prius, ut moris est, balneato, et induto mundissimis vestibus, et caligis tantummodo calciato. His peractis, ordinetur in ecclesia per archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbatem,

In curia regis comites, proceres, cives, nobilesque cuncti conveniant, ad disponendum sagaciterque tractandum, tam de principis novi electione quam de legum atque consuetudinum regni confirmatione.

et conventum Westmonasterii, et alios, processio in cappis sericis, cum textis, et thuribulis et aliis quæ processioni conveniunt. Et sic induti processionaliter regi futuro occurrant in palatio antedicto, et sic ipsum processive in ecclesiam ducant, ipsoque introducto atque in pulpito in sede sibi apta collocato, hæc antiphona ab omnibus decantetur: 'Firmetur,' &c."

The Exeter pontifical agrees with this except in its title; which is somewhat singular: "*Coronatio regis secundum consuetudinem ecclesiæ Westmonasteriensis.*"

And an imperfect English pontifical in the British museum, Harleian MS. 561, begins with a still more particular reference to the Westminster muniments: "*Hic est ordo secundum quem rex debet coronari, pariter et inungi, secundum cronicas et registra in abbathia Westmonasterii inventa.*"

I have no doubt that the "textus" spoken of above was some splendid copy of the four gospels, or of the selected gospels, which was specially preserved at Westminster to be used either on this great occasion only of a coronation, or at other very solemn processions. Or possibly it was the copy of the gospels, upon which the coronation-oath was to be taken. I have made some remarks upon this in the preliminary dissertation: and would also refer the reader to the dissertation on service books, vol. i. p. lij.

[2] The custom of assembling the archbishops and bishops of the realm is as ancient as the office itself of a coronation: for it has been always held to be necessary not only that the new sovereign should be crowned by the primate, or a bishop appointed by him, but also with as large an attendance of the clergy (more especially of the highest degree) as could be obtained. Peter Damian proves that this was not confined to England only: he says, in a passage of his lxix[th] sermon, cited by Catalani: "Cum enim tantæ nobilitatis sanguis vel genere, vel nobilitate consecratur in regem, religio cum nobilitate totius regni viribus convocatur. Astat hinc primatum, metropolitanorum, et episcoporum gloriosa societas: illinc ducum, comitum, castellanorum, non spernenda nobilitas. Procedit medius homo super homines regnaturus constitutus agmine personali."

Quibus consentientibus, et id idem in omnibus consona voce acclamantibus, cum omni mansuetudine ac reverentia, ut mos regni exigit, exaltent illum, eoque exaltato et in sede principi apta locato, in ecclesia metropolitano et cætero clero cum summa tranquillitate sedenti, per quatuor nobiliores comites nuncietur, faciantque iidem legati coram clero post electionis repræsentationem, ex parte populi cum supplicatione petitionem, ut sicut ab omni populo electus est, ita et in ecclesia a clero benigne suscipiatur,[3] *et in regem consecretur. Quorum legatione patienter audita, metropolitanus quatuor quos elegerit præsules, totidemque abbates, dirigat ad populum, inquirens quæ a quatuor nunciis audivit, si populus testari voluerit. Et illis regressis, si concors fuerit priorum nunciorum vox sequentium, tunc demum, metropolitano inchoante, clerus Deo gratias et laudes referat.*

Moxque missi duo præsules a metropolitano cum parte cleri, cum cereis et crucibus, introducant in ecclesiam consecrandum regem electum, cum vocis emissione, hanc concinentes antiphonam:

Firmetur manus tua, et exaltetur dextera tua; justitia et judicium præparatio sedis tuæ, misericordia et veritas præcedent faciem tuam.[4]

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[3] "recipiatur," in the Evesham pontifical. Lansd. MS. 451.

[4] The order for king Ethelred after the antiphon and Gloria Patri thus continues:—

"*Perveniens rex ad ecclesiam, prosternat se coram altari, et hymnizetur,* Te Deum laudamus, Te Dominum confitemur. *Quo finitenus hymnizato rex erigatur de solo, et ab episcopis et a plebe electus, hæc tria se servaturum jura promittat, et clara voce coram Deo, omnique populo, dicat:*

"Hæc tria populo Christiano et mihi subdito in Christi promitto nomine. In primis ut ecclesia Dei, et omnis populus Christianus veram pacem nostro arbitrio in omni tempore servet. Aliud, ut rapacitates et omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus in-

In tempore paschali. Alleluia.
Ps. Misericordias Domini.

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terdicam. Tertium, ut in omnibus judiciis æquitatem et misericordiam præcipiam, ut mihi et vobis indulgeat suam misericordiam clemens et misericors Deus, qui vivit.

"*His peractis, omnes dicant,* Amen. *Et hæ sequantur orationes a singulis episcopis singulæ super regem dicendæ.* Te invocamus, &c.

"*Alia oratio.* Deus, qui populis tuis virtute consulis, et amore dominaris, da huic famulo tuo *ill.* spiritum sapientiæ cum regimine disciplinæ, ut tibi toto corde devotus in regni regimine maneat semper idoneus, tuoque munere ipsius temporibus securitas ecclesiæ dirigatur, et in tranquillitate devotio Christiana permaneat, ut in bonis operibus perseverans, ad æternum regnum te duce valeat pervenire, per Dominum.

"*Consecratio regis ab episcopo qui arcem tenuerit super eum dicenda.*

"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus," &c., as below, with some important differences, noted there.

In the order for king Henry the first after the antiphon we have :—

"*Perveniens ad ecclesiam prosternat se super pavimentum ante altare. Pavimentum autem stratum sit tapetibus et palliis. Finita antiphona fiat litania, et episcopi prosternant se supra pavimentum hinc et inde circa electum regem. Expleta autem litania erigant se. Erectus autem ab episcopis electus rex, hæc tria servaturum se esse promittat, dicens :*

"In Christi nomine promitto hæc tria populo Christiano mihi subdito. In primis me præcepturum et opem pro viribus impensurum, ut ecclesia Dei, &c. [*ut supra, in ord.* Ethelr.]. *Et respondeant omnes,* Amen. *His expletis, unus episcoporum alloquatur populum, si tali principi ac rectori se subjicere, ac jussionibus ejus obtemperare velint. Tunc a circumstante clero et populo respondeatur :* Volumus et concedimus. *Postea vero eo devote inclinato, dicantur a metropolitano sequentes orationes.*

"Omnipotens æterne Deus, creator omnium, &c.

"Benedic, Domine, hunc regem, &c.

"Deus ineffabilis, auctor, &c.

"*Tunc demum ab ipso metropolitano unguantur sibi manus de oleo sanctificato.*

"Unguantur manus istæ," &c.

This order is the same (as before mentioned) in the Winchester pontifical; the imperfect Bodley MS.; the two Cotton MSS. Tiberius, B. 8, and E. 8; and the Dublin MS. B. 3. 6.

Gloria Patri.

Repetatur antiphona. Firmetur.

Appropinquans vero rex altari, ejus imitando imperium qui dixit, Non appareas vacuus in conspectu Domini, Dei tui, *pretioso tegat pallio,*[5] *libramque auri integram Deo, sanctoque Petro apostolorum principi, princeps ipse consecrandus desuper ponendo offerat. Continuoque*[6] *super pavimentum tapetis stratum coram altari se prosternat, dicatque super illum metropolitanus hanc orationem.*

Oremus.

Deus humilium visitator, qui nos sancti Spiritus illustratione consolaris, prætende super hunc famulum tuum *N.* gratiam tuam, ut per eum, tuum in nobis adesse sentiamus adventum. Per Dominum: in unitate ejusdem.

Oratione[7] *completa, injungat metropolitanus cui voluerit pontificum, plebi de præsenti negotio congruum breviter dicere sermonem, sciscitarique*[8] *ab eis ut palam*

The order for Edward the second followed by the Exeter MS. continues after the antiphon :—

"Gloria Patri. Sicut erat. Evovæ. Firmetur. *Postea revestiatur archiepiscopus vel episcopus qui missam celebraturus est, et cum aliis prælatis principem consecrandum honorifice per chori medium ducat usque ad magnum altare, super quod tenetur offerre pallium unum, et unam libram auri, ejus complendo præceptum qui dixit, 'Non appareas vacuus coram oculis Domini Dei tui.' Continuoque super pavimentum,"* &c., as in the text, with some unimportant variations: the chief of which the reader will find below.

[5] "Oblatio regis," marginal note in pontif. Sar.

[6] "Prostratio regis prima," marginal note in pontif. Sar.

[7] The royal MS. 12 D. iij. (British museum) has by an evident mistake "*Coronatione completa.*"

[8] The following sentence "sciscitarique . . . . . interrogati" is omitted in the order for king Edward the second but added in the margin in a later hand. The

dicant si hunc cuncti sibi in regem eligunt, et ut illis rex consecretur si veraciter et unanimiter poscunt. Quod postquam se velle acclamaverint interrogati, metropolitanus electum mediocriter distinctaque interroget voce,[9] *si leges et consuetudines ab antiquis justis et devotis regibus plebi Anglorum concessas, cum sacramenti confirmatione, eidem plebi concedere et servare voluerit, et præsertim leges et consuetudines et libertates, a gloriosissimo*[10] *rege sancto Edwardo, clero populoque concessas. Si*[11] *autem omnibus his assentire se velle promiserit, exponat ei metropolitanus de quibus jurabit, ita dicendo:*

Sarum pontifical notes in the margin "brevis sermo."

The *Liber regalis* omits the sentence "sciscitarique . . . interrogati" and inserts instead of it the following, which is introduced as far as the word "sermone" into the margin of the Sarum pontifical, and the sentence as it stands in the text above is bracketed: "Metropolitano interim in cathedra sua residente ante altare more episcopali. Coram ipso residebit princeps coronandus in cathedra decenti sibi præparata ex adverso. Finito quidem sermone ad plebem, metropolitanus vel episcopus eundem mediocri distinctaque voce interroget, si leges et consuetudines," &c.

[9] "Sessio regis," marginal note, *Sar. pontif.* I may remind the reader that the Roman pontifical appoints a set sermon or admonition to be made here, not to the people in order to ask their consent but to the king concerning the duties of his station :—

"Quibus sic sedentibus, postquam aliquantulum quieverint, metropolitanus coronandum regem admonet, dicens, 'Cum hodie,' &c." *Pontif. Rom.* The latter part of this admonition is similar to the "admonitio episcoporum ad regem" of the text, presently. It is probable that the rubric immediately following that admonition, "*Adjiciantur prædictis*," &c., was intended to give scope for a more exact imitation of the Roman use, if it was thought desirable.

[10] "Glorioso." *Liber regalis*, and the order of Edward the second.

[11] "Dicto autem principe se promittente omnia præmissa concessurum et servaturum, tunc exponat ei metropolitanus," &c. *Lib. reg.*

Servabis ecclesiæ Dei cleroque, et populo, pacem ex integro et concordiam Deo, secundum vires tuas?

Respondebit:

Servabo.[12]

Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis æquam et rectam justitiam, et discretionem, in misericordia et in veritate, secundum vires tuas?

Respondebit:

Faciam.

Concedis justas leges esse tenendas, et promittis eas per te esse protegendas, et ad honorem Dei roborandas, quas vulgus elegerit, secundum vires tuas?

Respondebit:

Concedo, et promitto.

Sequitur admonitio episcoporum ad regem, et legatur ab uno episcopo coram omnibus clara voce, sic dicendo:

Domine rex,[13] a vobis perdonari petimus, ut uni-

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[12] The Exeter pontifical, very strangely, omits from hence down to the rubric "*Adjiciantur prædictis interrogationibus,*" &c.

[13] This petition has been omitted in the late forms. It was observed in the coronation of king James the first (of Charles the first according to the very obscure and confused account in Prynne, *Signal loyalty*, p. 270) and of Charles the second. I extract the form from the last-mentioned order, as it is given by Walker: "After which [i. e. the promises] the Bp of Rochester read the petition of the bishops in these words:

"Our Lord and King, wee beseech you to grant and preserve vnto vs, and the Churches Comitted to our Charge all Canonicall priviledges, and due Law and Iustice, and that you would protect and defend vs as every good King in his Kingdome ought to be a Protector and Defender of the Bishopps and Churches vnder their Government.

"The King answered:

"With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my pardon, and that I will preserve and mayneteyne to you, and the Churches comitted to yor Charge all Canonicall Priviledges and due Law and Iustice, and that I will

cuique de nobis et ecclesiis nobis commissis, canonicum privilegium ac debitam legem atque justitiam conservetis, et defensionem exhibeatis, sicut rex in suo regno debet unicuique episcopo, abbatibus,[14] et ecclesiis sibi commissis.

Respondebit:

Animo libenti, et devoto, promitto vobis et per-

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be yor Protectour and Defender to my power by the assistance of God as every good King in his Kingdome ought in right to protect and defend the Bps and Churches under their Government."

The petition does not occur in the earlier forms of king Ethelred, Henry the first, and Edward the second.

I extract the following from the important *Devyse* for king Henry the eighth so often alluded to in the dissertation: "Then foloweth the peticions of the bisshoppes to the kyng, which by the bisshop of Lincoln shall be openly redde in good and distinct voice, seying: *Domine rex.* Sir King, we aske of you to perfitely geven and graunted vnto vs, that ye shall kepe vnto vs and eche of vs, and to all the churches that beth geven and comytted vnto vs and eche of vs, the priuileges of the lawe canon and of hooly church, and due lawe and rightfulnesse, and vs and them defende as a doughty and Christen King ought to do. And in like wise to graunte and do thurgh all your Reame to euery bishop, abbot, and all the churches to them commytted.

"The kyng shall aunswer, *Libente animo.* With good will and deuoute soule, I promytte and perfitely graunte that to you and euery of you, and to all the churches to you commytted, I shall kepe the priuileges of the lawe of canon and of holy Church: and lawe and rightfulness: and I shall in as moche as may be, by reason and right defende you and euery of you bisshoppes and abbotts thurgh my Reame: and all the churches to you and them commytted. All these things and euery of theym, I Henry king of Englande, promytte and conferme to kepe and obserue, so helpe me God, and thise holy Euangelists by me bodily touched upon this hooly awter."

[14] This word is erased in the text of the Sarum pontifical, doubtless after the suppression of the monasteries, and inserted in the margin in a hand of the time of queen Mary. A like erasure occurs almost immediately below.

dono, quia unicuique de vobis et ecclesiis vobis commissis, canonicum privilegium et debitam legem atque justitiam servabo, et defensionem quantum potuero, adjuvante Domino, exhibebo, sicut rex in suo regno unicuique episcopo, abbatibus, et ecclesiis sibi commissis, per rectum exhibere debet.[15]

Adjiciantur prædictis interrogationibus quæ justa fuerint. Prænunciatis omnibus supradictis, dictus princeps confirmet se omnia prædicta esse servaturum, sacramento[16] *super altare coram cunctis protinus præstito. His itaque peractis, metropolitanus vel episcopus genuflectendo cum devotione incipiat excelsa voce hymnum,*

Veni creator,

dicto rege[17] *interim ante altare super tapetis et quis-*

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[15] In the modern Roman pontifical among the other duties explained to the new sovereign in the "admonition" before spoken of, note 9, is this: "Christianam religionem, ac fidem catholicam, quam ab incunabulis professus es, ad finem usque inviolatam retinebis, eamque contra omnes adversantes pro viribus defendes." How ancient this practice was may be concluded from the iijrd canon of the sixth council of Toledo: "Quisquis succedentium temporum regni sortitus fuerit apicem, non ante conscendat regiam sedem, quam inter reliqua conditionum sacramenta pollicitus fuerit, hanc se catholicam non permissurum eos (*nempe Judæos*) violare fidem," &c. And it thus concludes: "Ergo postquam ordine præmisso ad gubernacula accesserit regni, si ipse temerator hujus extiterit promissi, sit anathema, maranatha, in conspectu sempiterni Dei, et pabulum efficiatur ignis æterni."

There is certainly no express stipulation to this effect in the ancient English forms; nor is there in the modern Roman use; although Catalani (who quotes also the above canon) rather hastily as it seems to me concludes that it is to be gathered from the promise of the new sovereign, in the "professio regis" which immediately succeeds, and which is couched in very general terms. Cf. *Comment. in pontif. Rom.* tom. i. 378.

[16] "Juramentum regis," marginal note in *Sar. pontif.*

[17] "Prostratio regis secunda," marginal note.

sinis, per regios ministros decenter ibidem collocatis, humiliter prostrato.

Finito vero hymno, sequatur hæc oratio:

Te invocamus, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, ut hunc famulum tuum *.N.* quem tuæ divinæ dispensationis providentia in primordio plasmatum, usque hunc præsentem diem juvenili flore lætantem crescere concessisti, eum tuæ pietatis dono ditatum plenumque gratia et veritate, de die in diem, coram Deo et hominibus, ad meliora semper proficere facias, ut summi regiminis solium, gratiæ supernæ largitate, gaudens suscipiat, et misericordiæ tuæ muro ab hostium adversitate undique munitus, plebem sibi commissam, cum pace propitiationis et virtute victoriæ, feliciter regere mereatur. Per Christum Dominum.

Post orationem[18] *incipiant duo episcopi vel duo cantores litaniam,*[19] *metropolitano vel episcopo et cæteris episcopis cum eo prostratis, et septem psalmos pœnitentiales ex corde cantantibus: infra litaniam hæc adjungant:*

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[18] "Litania cum septem psalmis," marginal note.

[19] The position of the litany in this office has differed much at various times and in various countries. But the antiquity of its use at some period or other of the ceremony is proved by the very ancient *Ordo Romanus,* which commands: "Ut cuncto ecclesiæ pavimento tapetibus et palliolis contecto, ibi rex humiliter totus in cruce prostratus jaceat cum episcopis, et presbyteris, hinc inde prostratis, cæteris in choro litaniam breviter psallentibus." The "breviter" refers to the restriction which is afterwards enjoined that only twelve apostles, and as many martyrs, confessors, and virgins, should be invocated. The phrase "totus in cruce" would appear to mean with arms extended. The student will observe that in the text only the bishops are directed to prostrate themselves with the king.

Ut præsentem famulum tuum in tua pietate, justitia, et sanctitate, confirmare et conservare digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Postea sequantur hæ orationes.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oratio.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, creator omnium, imperator angelorum, rex regnantium, dominusque dominantium, qui Abraham fidelem famulum tuum de hostibus triumphare fecisti, Moysi et Josuæ populo prælatis multiplicem victoriam tribuisti, humilemque David puerum tuum regni fastigio sublimasti, et Salomonem sapientiæ pacisque ineffabili munere ditasti; respice, quæsumus,[20] ad preces humilitatis nostræ, et super hunc famulum tuum, quem supplici devotione in regem consecramus,[21] benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica, eumque dexteræ tuæ potentia semper et ubique circumda, quatenus prædicti Abrahæ fidelitate firmatus, Moysi mansuetudine fretus, Josuæ fortitudine munitus, David humilitate exaltatus, Salomonis sapientia decoratus, tibi in omnibus placeat, et per tramitem justitiæ inoffenso gressu semper incedat, ecclesiamque[22] tuam deinceps

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[20] "Respice propitius," order of king Ethelred.

[21] In the earlier orders of Ethelred, Henry the first, and Edward the second (followed by the York and Exeter MSS.), the form runs "quem . . . . in regem eligimus." The alteration is curious.

[22] "Hic totius regni Anglorum vel Saxonum ecclesiam deinceps cum plebibus sibi annexis," &c. *Order of Ethelred.* The Roman pontifical omits from hence to the words "tuæ quoque protectionis." The prayer is very ancient: not only to be traced to the earliest manuscript which we now have of the Anglo-saxon ceremonial, but it is also in the old "ordo Romanus." I may add that in some early foreign pontificals this prayer is to be said aloud by the archbishop, and "voce submissa" by the

cum plebibus sibi annexis ita enutriat ac doceat, muniat et instruat, contra omnes visibiles et invisibiles hostes idem potenter regaliterque tuæ virtutis regimen administret,[23] et ad veræ fidei pacisque

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other bishops: "ad tollendam scilicet confusionem (observes Catalani), non vero quod in ea vocis submissione aliquid arcani mysteriive contineatur."

[23] "Administret, ut regale solium, videlicet Anglorum vel Saxonum sceptro, non deserat, sed ad pristinæ fidei, pacisque," &c. *Ibid.* This passage is remarkable: and it is a very curious circumstance that the famous manuscript (now in the British museum, Cotton, Tiberius B. viij.) of the coronation service of Charles the fifth of France contains the same sentence, with not a less plain reference to the Anglo-saxons. The words are these: "ut regale solium videlicet Saxonum, Merciorum, Nordanchimbrorum sceptra non deserat." This fact has been remarked by Selden in his *Titles of honour*, pp. 177, 189, and he argues very justly that the French order owes its origin to the more ancient forms used in this country. Nevertheless it is somewhat more than strange that they who adopted and revised to suit their own circumstances our English office should have omitted to correct this passage in the prayer. It has been suggested that the writers employed copied the English manuscripts in ignorance; inserted nothing and omitted nothing. We can scarcely however suppose that no revision was made by some one in authority. But be this as it may, the numberless instances of agreement, even verbal, which occur between the ancient English forms and the French, would have proved a common origin: such an argument as the present proves more, viz. this, that England can claim the honour of having given her Order of Coronation to the kings and people of France.

Dr. Henderson notices (pref. *Pontif. Ebor.*) that the clause "videlicet Saxonum .... deserat" does not occur in any of the extant English pontificals.

In the appendix to the sacramentary of St. Gregory (Opera, tom. 3. p. 258) Menard has printed the "Ritus olim observatus in unctione regum Francorum: *ex codice Ratoldi abbatis.*" This prayer occurs in that order; and after the words "semper incedat" above is the following, not less worthy of notice than the corresponding reference in the service of Charles the fifth, "..incedat, et totius Albionis ecclesiam deinceps cum plebibus sibi annexis," &c.

concordiam eorum animos, te opitulante, reformet, ut horum populorum debita subjectione fultus, tuo digno amore glorificatus,[24] ad paternum decenter solium tua miseratione conscendere mereatur, tuæ quoque protectionis galea munitus, et scuto insuperabili jugiter protectus, armisque cœlestibus circumdatus,

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The reader will at once see that the argument in the preceding paragraph of this note is strongly confirmed by this reference to England: but it would not be just to omit Menard's own remarks upon it. Probably he was not aware of the existence of the Cotton MS., or he would have insisted that Charles the fifth was crowned king of England also; as indeed he does seem to pretend with respect to Louis the fourth if I understand him rightly: even although, as he quaintly says, he could discover no record of the original fact extant. He says, "Quæ quidem verba (*Albionis ecclesiam*) satis manifestant aliquem Francorum regem id temporis in Anglorum regem unctum fuisse: quod tamen est difficile scitu, cum nihil tale in historicis antiquis cum Francorum tum Anglorum repereris, per quos huic difficultati lucem afferre quis possit. Nemini autem dubium est quin Albion, cujus hic mentio est, sit Britannia major. Id testantur veteres omnes recentioresque geographi. . . . . Quis fuerit autem ex regibus Francorum sub hac formula in regem Anglorum unctus, dicere obscurum est. Ex hoc tamen apparet antiquum jus regibus Francorum in regnum Angliæ fuisse." And the same writer adds in a note a suggestion in proof of his theory, which is demolished by the order of king Ethelred: "Forte consecratio hæc in Ludovici IV. inauguratione fuit adhibita, qui cum ob Ogivam matrem, ex Angliæ regum stirpe esset oriundus, in spem hujus regni vocatus potuit simul ungi in regem Angliæ et Franciæ. Quibus non placebit conjectura hæc meliorem suppeditent; doceantque quis ex Galliæ regibus ante mortem Ratoldi abbatis qui ann. 986 obiit, potiore jure in regem Angliæ ungi et consecrari potuerit." This would indeed be difficult: but it is not necessary that those who are dissatisfied with the conjectures of so very learned a person as Menard are bound to propose better.

[24] "glorificatus, per longum vitæ spatium paternæ apicem gloriæ tuæ miseratione unita, stabilire et gubernare mereatur." Order of king Ethelred.

optabilis victoriæ triumphum feliciter capiat, terroremque suæ potentiæ infidelibus inferat, et pacem tibi militantibus lætanter reportet,[25] per Dominum nostrum, qui virtute crucis tartara destruxit, regnoque diaboli superato ad cœlos victor ascendit, in quo potestas omnis regum consistit, et victoria, qui est gloria humilium, et vita salusque populorum. Qui tecum.

Alia oratio.

Benedic, Domine, hunc regem nostrum, qui regna omnium moderaris a sæculo, et tali eum benedictione glorifica, ut Davidicæ teneat sublimitatis sceptrum, et glorificatus in ejus, te propitio, reperiatur merito. Da ei tuo inspiramine cum mansuetudine ita regere populum, sicut Salomonem fecisti regnum obtinere pacificum. Tibi cum timore semper sit subditus, tibique militet cum quiete; sit tuo clypeo protectus cum proceribus, et ubique tua gratia victor existat; honorifica eum præ cunctis regibus gentium, felix populis dominetur, et feliciter eum nationes adorent. Vivat inter gentium catervas magnanimus, sit in judiciis æquitatis singularis, locupletet eum tua prædives dextera, frugiferam obtineat patriam, et ejus liberis tribuas profutura; præsta ei prolixitatem vitæ per tempora, ut in diebus ejus oriatur justitia; a te

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[25] "reportet. Virtutibus, Christe, hunc quibus præfatos fideles tuos decorasti, multiplici honoris benedictione condecora, et in regimine regni sublimiter colloca, et oleo gratiæ Spiritus sancti perunge, per Dominum, in unitate ejusdem." *Ibid.* Immediately after this prayer in king Ethelred's order follows the anointing, of which the rubric, &c. is given below. It may be added that the French order of king Charles the fifth (just spoken of) gives the concluding sentences of both the Anglo-saxon and the Sarum orders: putting the Sarum last, and of course omitting the "per Dominum" of the first.

robustum teneat regiminis solium, et cum jocunditate et justitia æterno glorietur in regno. Per Dominum.

Deus ineffabilis, auctor mundi, conditor generis humani, gubernator imperii, confirmator regni, qui ex utero fidelis amici tui patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ præelegisti regem sæculis profuturum, tu præsentem regem hunc cum exercitu suo per intercessionem omnium sanctorum uberi benedictione locupleta, et in solium regni firma stabilitate connecte. Visita eum, sicut Moysen in rubo, Jesum Nave in prælio, Gedeon in agro, Samuelem in templo, et illa eum benedictione siderea ac sapientiæ tuæ rore perfunde, quam beatus David in psalterio Salomon filius ejus, te remunerante, percepit e cœlo. Sis ei contra acies inimicorum lorica, in adversis galea, in prosperis patientia, in protectione clypeus sempiternus; et præsta ut gentes illi teneant fidem, proceres sui habeant pacem, diligant caritatem, abstineant se a cupiditate, loquantur justitiam, custodiant veritatem; et ita populus iste pullulet, coalitus benedictione æternitatis, ut semper maneant tripudiantes in pace victores. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Oremus.

Deus, qui populis tuis virtute consulis et amore dominaris, da huic famulo tuo .*N.* spiritum sapientiæ cum regimine disciplinæ, ut tibi toto corde devotus, in regni regimine maneat semper idoneus, tuoque munere ipsius temporibus securitas ecclesiæ dirigatur, et in tranquillitate devotio Christiana permaneat, ut in bonis operibus perseverans ad æternum regnum, te duce, valeat pervenire. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum. Qui tecum.

Hic mutet dominus metropolitanus, vel episcopus, vocem suam[26] *more præfationis, hoc modo:*

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus. Electorum fortitudo, et humilium celsitudo, qui in primordio per effusionem diluvii crimina mundi castigare voluisti, et per columbam ramum olivæ portantem, pacem terris redditam demonstrasti; iterumque Aaron famulum tuum per unctionem olei sacerdotem sanxisti, et postea per hujus unguenti infusionem, ad regendum populum Israeliticum, sacerdotes, ac reges, et prophetas perunxisti, vultumque ecclesiæ in oleo exhilarandum per propheticam famuli tui vocem David esse prædixisti; ita quæsumus omnipotens Pater, ut per hujus creaturæ pinguedinem hunc servum tuum .*N*. sancti✠ficare tua bene✠dictione digneris, eumque in similitudinem columbæ pacem simplicitatis populo sibi subdito præstare, et exempla Aaron in Dei servitio diligenter imitari, regnique fastigia in consiliis scientiæ et æquitate judicii semper assequi, vultumque hilaritatis per hanc olei unctionem tuamque benedic-

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[26] The order for king Edward the second and the *Liber regalis* merely say: "*Hic mutet* ...... *vocem suam.* Per omnia," &c.

tionem,[27] te adjuvante, toti plebi paratum habere facias: *submisse dicat*, Per Dominum.

Finitis orationibus istis,[28] *ascendat electus in cathedra coram metropolitano apposita, cui vero cum ad eum accesserit metropolitanus, vestem*[29] *qua indutus*

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27 "Bene✠dictionem." *Lib. reg.*

28 The Sarum pontifical has in the margin "surgat rex." The rubric of the *Liber regalis* is different from the text, and is as follows: "Finitis orationibus istis surgat princeps, et resideat in prædicta cathedra coram metropolitano vel episcopo, modo quo prælibatum est. In qua cathedra princeps paululum quiescens iterato resurgat, et vadat ad altare, deponatque ibi vestes suas, præter tunicam sericam et camisiam apertas profundius usque subter pectus et inter scapulas, et in scapulis, et etiam apertas in compagibus brachiorum: aperturis tunicæ et camisiæ sibi invicem connexis ansulis argenteis. Tunc vero a metropolitano vel episcopo dissectis ansulis in apertura tunicæ et camisiæ supradictæ, pallio super dictum principem extenso, manus principis oleo inungantur, dicente metropolitano vel episcopo orationem 'Ungantur'" &c. This variation of rubric is introduced in a later hand into the margin of our text.

I would remind the student that he must compare the many variations of the Roman pontifical: here I think it only necessary to quote a part of the rubric preceding the unction, according to that use: "Post hæc . . . metropolitanus intingit pollicem dexteræ manus in oleum catechumenorum, et inungit in modum crucis, illius brachium dexterum, inter juncturam manus, et juncturam cubiti, atque inter scapulas."

29 From the note just above, transcribed from the *Liber regalis*, this vestment was the "camisia." The student should consult the glossary of Ducange for the several meanings of this word; nearly all of which are to be referred to some ecclesiastical use, and most frequently it seems to have signified the alb. Thus he cites Alcuin, *De div. off.*, who says: "tunica linea vestis erat interior quam camisiam dicimus, vel supparum." And Peter Blesensis: "Indutus camisia linea, quæ communi nomine dicitur alba." *Serm.* 41. However, in the text the "camisia" is to be taken to signify the under garment, or linen, of the sovereign: of which meaning there are many examples in old writers. As Isidore explains the word: "Camisias vocamus quod in his

fuerit rex electus, pallio super eum interim extenso, scindat propriis usque ad cingulum manibus. Deinde manus regis electi sancto ungantur oleo, dicente metropolitano:

Ungantur[30] manus istæ de oleo sanctificato, unde

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dormimus in camis, id est, in stratis nostris." (In later times, from about the eleventh to the fourteenth century, the custom in England usually, if not always, was to sleep entirely unclothed in bed; the expression "naked bed" refers to this.) Also, Paul the deacon: "Supparus, vestimentum puellarum, quod et subucula, id est, camisia dicitur.' *In epit. festi.* And once more, Victor Uticensis: "De palliis altaris, proh nefas, camisias sibi et femoralia faciebant." *De persec. Vandal.* l. 1.

To these it cannot be amiss to add an example of this vestment, as a royal present to an English prince in the early part of the seventh century from pope Boniface: who thus concludes his epistle to king Edwin: "Præterea, benedictionem protectoris vestri beati Petri apostolorum principis vobis direximus, id est, camisiam cum ornatura in auro una, et lena ancyriana una: quod petimus, ut eo benignitatis animo gloria vestra suscipiat, quo a nobis noscitur destinatum." *Bedæ hist. ecc.* lib. 2. cap. xj.

[30] The following is the order in king Ethelred's book; immediately succeeding as was before remarked (see note 4) the prayer "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus:"—

"*Hic unguatur oleo, et hæc cantetur antiphona:* Unxerunt Salomonem Sadoch sacerdos et Nathan propheta regem in Gion: et accedentes dixerunt, Vivat rex in æternum.

"*Quam sequatur oratio.*

"Christe, perunge hunc regem in regimen, unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, et prophetas, ac martyres, qui per fidem vicerunt regna, et operati sunt justitiam, atque adepti sunt repromissiones. Tua sacratissima unctio super caput ejus defluat, atque ad interioria descendat, et cordis illius intima penetret, et promissionibus, quas adepti sunt victoriosissimi reges, gratia tua dignus efficiatur, quatenus et in præsenti sæculo feliciter regnet, et ad eorum consortium in cœlesti regno perveniat. Per.

"*Alia.* Deus electorum fortitudo, et humilium celsitudo, qui in primordio per effusionem diluvii crimina mundi castigare voluisti, et per columbam ramum olivæ portantem pacem terris redditam demonstrasti, iterumque Aaron famulum tuum per unctionem olei sacerdotem sanx-

uncti fuerunt reges et prophetæ, et sicut unxit Samuel David in regem, ut sis benedictus et constitutus rex

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isti et postea per hujus unguenti infusionem ad regendum populum Israheliticum sacerdotes ac reges et prophetas præfecisti, vultumque ecclesiæ . . ." The manuscript is most unhappily imperfect: a folio having been torn out. See for the whole prayer in the appendix below from the Leofric missal.

The order in the later MSS. varies considerably, nor is it difficult to trace the alterations as they were introduced. The following is the service as appointed for king Henry the first, which, generally, is the same also in the Winchester pontifical and the Dublin MS., with the exception that these last have the prayer "Prospice omnipotens Deus" after the unction of the hands:—

"*Tunc demum ab ipso metropolitano unguantur sibi manus de oleo sanctificato:* Unguantur manus istæ, &c. (*Oremus.* Prospice, omnipotens. *Winchester and Dublin MSS.*) *Postea vero pectus et scapulæ, ambæque compages brachiorum ipsius unguantur de supradicto oleo, et de eodem crux fiat super caput ejus, et postea de chrismate, et dicantur sequentes orationes.* Deus Dei filius Jesus. (*Oremus.* Deus, qui es justorum gloria. *Hen. I.*) *Postea ab episcopis ensem recipiat.*"

In the Cotton MS. Tiberius B. viij. (which enables us to trace the prayer "Prospice omnipotens" to the early part of the eleventh century) and in the Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 400, we have:—

"*Tunc demum ab ipso metropolitano unguantur sibi manus de oleo sanctificato:* Unguantur manus istæ, &c. *Oratio.* Prospice, omnipotens Deus. *Postea vero caput, pectus, et scapulæ, ambæque compages brachiorum ipsius unguantur a metropolitano, ita dicente:* Unguatur caput istud, &c. *Interim cantatur resp.* Deum time. *Post unctionem, oratio:* Deus Dei filius Jesus. *Alia.* Deus, qui es justorum. *Postea ab episcopis ensem recipiat.*" I must remark that the rubrics in the order of Edward the second vary in some verbal omissions from the above. For example, it says simply "*Oratio,*" not prefixing "*Post unctionem.*"

The Cotton MS. Tiberius E. viij. is the same with MS. Tiberius B. viij, except that it omits the prayers "Prospice omnipotens" and "Deus, qui es justorum."

The order for king Edward the second with some unimportant variations follows that of the text, as far as the anointing of the head.

in regno isto, super populum istum, quem Dominus Deus tuus dedit tibi, ad regendum et gubernandum. Quod ipse præstare dignetur, qui cum Patre.

Choro interim concinente antiphonam:

Unxerunt Salomonem Sadoc sacerdos et Nathan propheta regem, et accedentes læti dixerunt, Vivat rex, vivat rex, vivat rex, in æternum.

In tempore paschali. Alleluia.

Ps. Domine in virtute.

Oratio.

Prospice,[31] omnipotens Deus, serenis obtutibus hunc gloriosum regem *.N.* et sicut benedixisti Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, sic illum largis benedictionibus spiritualis gratiæ cum omni plenitudine tua potentia irrigare atque perfundere dignare. Tribue ei de rore cœli et de pinguedine terræ, abundantiam frumenti, vini, et olei, et omnium frugum opulentiam ex largitate divini muneris longa per tempora; ut illo regnante sit sanitas in patria, et pax inviolata sit in regno, et dignitas gloriosa regalis palatii maximo splendore regiæ potestatis oculis intuentium fulgeat, luce clarissima coruscare atque splendescere, quasi splendidissima fulgura maximo perfusa lumine videatur. Tribue ei, omnipotens Deus, ut sit fortissimus protector patriæ, et consolator[32] ecclesiarum,

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[31] The Sarum pontifical has "Respice" but, upon the authority of all the MSS. (the Exeter alone excepted) which have the prayer, viz. of Henry the first, Edward the second, and the *Liber regalis;* of the Winchester pontifical; the Lansdown MS. 451; the Royal MS. 12 D. 3; and the Cotton, Tiberius B. viij; of the Bodl. MS. Rawl. c. 400, and the Dublin MS., I have introduced "Prospice" into the text. "Prospice" is the reading also of the York pontifical.

[32] This sentence "ecclesiarum .... munificentiæ" is erased in the Sarum pontifical, and restored from the text of the *Liber regalis.*

ac cœnobiorum sanctorum maxima cum pietate regalis munificentiæ; atque ut sit fortissimus regum triumphator hostium ad opprimendas rebelles et paganas nationes. Sitque suis inimicis satis terribilis præ maxima fortitudine regalis potentiæ. Optimatibus quoque atque præcelsis proceribus atque fidelibus sui regni munificus, et amabilis, et pius; ut ab omnibus timeatur atque diligatur. Reges quoque de lumbis ejus per successiones temporum futurorum egrediantur regnum hoc regere totum, et post gloriosa tempora atque felicia præsentis vitæ, gaudia sempiterna in perpetua beatitudine habere mereatur. Per Dominum.[33]

Postea vero pectus, et scapulæ, ambæque compages brachiorum ipsius ungantur de supradicto oleo, et de eodem crux fiat super caput ejus, et postea de chrismate, metropolitano dicente:[34]

Ungatur caput istud, pectus, scapulæ, et compages brachiorum de oleo sanctificato, unde uncti fuerunt reges et prophetæ, et sicut Samuel unxit David in

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[33] "Inunctio regis," marginal note.

[34] After the word "chrismate" the *Liber regalis* proceeds as follows:—

"Et prævideatur a sacrista quod ampullæ tam de oleo quam de chrismate, quarum una deaurata est et in se continens sanctum chrisma, altera vero solum argentea et in se continens oleum sanctum, sint ad altare præparatæ. Rege igitur sic uncto, connectantur ansulæ aperturarum propter unctionem ab abbate Westm. vel vicem ejus gerente: et dicantur a metropolitano vel episcopo sequentes orationes. 'Deus, Dei filius.' 'Deus, qui es.'"

This variation is (as before) introduced into the margin of the Sarum pontifical.

The reader will observe that the benediction "Ungatur caput" &c. is omitted: nor is it in the order of king Edward the second. Hence it was doubtless introduced between the date of the *Liber regalis* and of the manuscript from which our text is taken.

regem ut sis benedictus et constitutus rex in regno isto, super populum istum quem Dominus Deus tuus dedit tibi ad regendum et gubernandum. Quod ipse præstare dignetur.

Sequatur oratio, cum Oremus.

Deus, Dei Filius, Jesus Christus, Dominus noster, qui a Patre oleo exultationis unctus est præ participibus suis, ipse per præsentem sacri unguenti infusionem Spiritus Paracliti super caput tuum infundat bene✠dictionem, eandemque usque ad interiora cordis tui penetrare faciat, quatenus hoc visibili et tractabili dono invisibilia percipere, et temporali regno justis moderaminibus executo, æternaliter cum eo regnare merearis, qui solus sine peccato Rex regum vivit, et gloriatur cum Deo Patre, in unitate Spiritus sancti, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Deus, qui es justorum gloria, et misericordia peccatorum, qui misisti Filium tuum pretioso sanguine suo genus humanum redimere, qui conteris bella, et propugnator es in te sperantium, et sub cujus arbitrio omnium regnorum continetur potestas, te humiliter deprecamur, ut præsentem famulum tuum .*N*. in tua misericordia confidentem, in præsenti sede regali bene✠dicas, eique propitius adesse digneris, ut qui tua expetit protectione defendi, omnibus sit hostibus fortior. Fac eum, Domine, beatum esse, et victorem de inimicis suis. Corona eum corona justitiæ et pietatis, ut ex toto corde et tota mente in te credens, tibi deserviat, sanctam tuam ecclesiam defendat et sublimet, populumque sibi commissum juste regat, nullis insidiantibus malis eum in injustitiam convertat. Accende, Domine, cor ejus ad amorem tuæ gratiæ per hoc unctionis oleum, unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, et prophetas, quatenus

diligens justitiam, per tramitem similiter justitiæ populum ducens, post peracta a te disposita in regali excellentia annorum curricula, pervenire ad æterna gaudia mereatur. Per.

Post hæc[35] *vero induatur sindonis colobio,*[36] *capite*

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[35] "Post hæc induatur sindonis colobio, ad modum dalmaticæ formato, capite amictu operto propter unctionem. Qui amictus per septem dies continuos circa regium caput indesinenter permanebit. Octava vero die post dicti regis consecrationem, unus episcoporum, dicto rege in ecclesia sive capella sua præsente, missam de Trinitate celebrabit. Missaque finita, idem episcopus amictum præfatum auferet de capite regali, dictumque caput regium aqua calida cum omni diligentia lavabit: quo loto et exsiccato, crines regios reverenter componet: deinde circulum aureum capiti dicti regis imponet honorifice. Quem quidem circulum memoratus princeps, ob reverentiam suæ dealbationis, ipso die feret continue capite denudato. Hiis taliter peractis, a metropolitano vel episcopo benedicantur regalia ornamenta. 'Deus, rex regum,'" &c. *Lib. regalis*, and in the margin of the pontifical.

An ancient pontifical of the church of Sens, the order of which is the vij[th] of those printed by Martene, has this rubric: "Sciendum quod ejus camisia propter sanctam unctionem debet comburi." *De ant. ecc. rit.* tom. 2. p. 227.

[36] "Tunica absque manicis, vel certe cum manicis sed brevioribus, et quæ ad cubitum vix pertinerent: ex Græco κολοβὸς, curtus." Ducange, *Glossarium*. He cites various authorities, among them Isidore: "Colobium dictum, quia longum est et sine manicis;" lib. 19. cap. 32; Johan. de Janua, in *Catholico:* "Notum quod non solum virgines, sed etiam diaconi utebantur colobio, loco cujus postea usi sunt dalmatica." And that this was originally a female garment appears from another old authority, who also gives us a different etymology: "Colobium, pallium virginale, ut quod ad talos descendens sine manicis et dicitur colobium, quasi colubium, a collo depensum, vel quod sit longum." This seems quite as probable a derivation as the first: for if the colobium was short in one respect, it was long in another.

Macri says: "Hoc tunicæ genere induebantur apostoli:" and his reason for this statement is brief if not satisfactory; "conservabatur enim in basilica apostolorum colobium D. Thomæ

amictu[37] *propter unctionem operto, eo quidem per septem dies in albis ita existente; pedibus ejus sandalia coaptentur, et calcaria; postea induatur regalibus.*

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apostoli." *Hierolexicon.* Ferrarius argues (*De re vestiaria*, 1, cap. 7), against all the authorities above, that the colobium had short sleeves rather than none at all: but his only proof is a doubtful passage in Tertullian.

In the *Liber pontificalis* in the acts of St. Eutychian we are told: "Qui et constituit ut quicunque fidelium defunctum martyrem sepeliret, sine dalmatica aut colobio purpurato nulla ratione sepeliret." Tom. 1. p. 65. The editor explains in a note: "Hic vero purpuratum esse oportere dicitur, ut scilicet martyres cum eo sepultos pro Christo sanguinem fudisse, indicio id esset."

[37] The amice was an ecclesiastical vestment, although not restricted only to the clergy who were in sacred orders. If the word here used means "amice" and not a mere covering or coif—and I rather incline to that opinion—its bearing upon the mixed character which attaches to an anointed sovereign is not without importance. For its ancient purpose, it was a covering for the head; a square piece of linen, embroidered (or apparelled as it was technically termed) upon one edge. In the rubric in the text, it is directed to be applied as originally intended. But at that time by the clergy of England, as now by the clergy of the Roman catholic church, the amice was only placed for an instant upon the top of the head, and then lowered upon the shoulders, to be left there and adjusted round the neck. So that the use of it became merely symbolical.

Not that this was an alteration of late date; because Amalarius says (and explains its meaning), "Amictus est primum vestimentum nostrum, quo collum undique cingimus: in collo est namque vox, ideoque per collum loquendi usus exprimitur. Per amictum intelligimus custodiam vocis." Lib. 2. cap. 17. I would again refer the student who wishes to know more of these mystical meanings to Durandus, lib. 3. cap. 2; where he will find many of them, not omitting those which were founded, if we may use such a term, upon the strings also of the amice. But he will obtain much more solid information from Bona, *Rer. lit.* lib. 1. cap. 24, with Sala's notes on the place; Saussajus, *Panopl. sacerdotalis*, pars. 1, and Georgius, *De Lit. Rom. pontif.* tom. 1.

Sequitur benedictio cujuscumque regalis ornamenti.

Deus, Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, per quem reges regnant, et legum conditores jura decernunt, dignare propitius bene✠dicere hoc regale ornamentum, et præsta ut famulus tuus rex noster, qui illud portaturus est, ornamento bonorum morum et sanctarum actionum in conspectu tuo fulgeat, et post temporalem vitam, æternam gloriam, quæ tempus non habet, sine fine possideat. Per Dominum.[38]

Benedictio ensis.

Exaudi, quæsumus Domine, preces nostras, et hunc ensem, quo famulus tuus *.N.* se circumcingi desiderat, majestatis tuæ dextera bene✠dicere et sancti✠ficare dignare, quatenus defensio ac protectio possit esse ecclesiarum, viduarum, orphanorum, omniumque Deo servientium, contra sævitiam paganorum, aliisque insidiantibus sit pavor, terror, et formido. Per Dominum nostrum.

Postea ab episcopo ensem accipiat,[39] *et cum ense totum*

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[38] "Dictis itaque ornamentis benedictis, præfatus rex a Westm. abbate vel alio loco ipsius, ut præhabitum est, induetur vestimentis. Et prius induetur super prædictum colobium tunica longa, et talari intexta magnis imaginibus aureis ante et retro, simul caligis, sandariis, et calcaribus tibiis ejus et pedibus coaptatis. Tunc sequetur benedictio ensis. 'Exaudi,'" &c. *Lib. regalis*, and the margin of the pontifical.

[39] The Anglo-saxon order of king Ethelred immediately succeeding the prayer "Deus electorum" (see above, note 30) proceeds :—

["*Hic detur gladius.* Accipe hunc gladium cum Dei benedictione tibi collatum, in quo per virtutem sancti Spiritus resistere et ejicere omnes inimicos tuos valeas] et cunctos sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ adversarios, regnumque tibi commissum tutari, atque protegere castra Dei, per auxilium invictissimi triumphatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui cum Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti vivit et regnat." The first part of this prayer, within brackets, is supplied from the Cotton MS. Tiberius B. viij.

"*Oratio post datum gladium.*

regnum sibi fideliter ad regendum secundum subscripta verba sciat esse commendatum, dicente metropolitano:

Accipe gladium per manus episcoporum licet indignas, vice tamen et auctoritate sanctorum apostolorum consecratas, tibi regaliter impositum, nostræque benedictionis ✠ officio in defensionem sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ divinitus ordinatum: et esto memor de quo psalmista prophetavit dicens, Accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum, potentissime, ut per eundem vim æquitatis exerceas, molem iniquitatis potenter destruas, et sanctam Dei ecclesiam ejusque fideles propugnando protegas, nec minus sub fide falsos quam Christiani nominis hostes execreris et destruas, viduas et pupillos clementer adjuves ac defendas, desolata restaures, restaurata conserves, ulciscaris injusta, confirmes bene disposita, quatenus hæc in agendo, virtutum triumpho gloriosus justitiæque cultor egregius, cum mundi Salvatore, cujus typum geris in nomine, sine fine merearis regnare. Qui cum Patre.

Accinctus autem ense[40] *similiter armillas*[41] *accipiat, dicente metropolitano vel episcopo:*

Deus, qui providentia tua cœlestia simul et terrena moderaris, propitiare Christianissimo regi nostro, ut omnis hostium suorum fortitudo, virtute gladii spiritualis, frangatur, ac te pro illo pugnante penitus conteratur. Per.

"*Hic coronetur rex*," &c. See below.

Without specifying all the variations, of which the chief is the omission of the antiphon "Confortare," it will be sufficient to state here that from hence to the benediction "Sta et retine," with which the earlier forms conclude, all the other MSS. follow the order and prayers of the text: except that one of them only, viz. that of king Edward the second, gives the benediction of the ring, and that the Dublin manuscript omits also the benediction of the crown. The Dublin MS. is moreover imperfect, ending with the delivery of the sceptre.

[40] "Et mox rex accinctus surgit, et eximit ensem de vagina,

Accipe armillas sinceritatis et sapientiæ, divinæque circumdationis indicium, quibus intelligas omnes

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illumque viriliter vibrat, deinde super brachium sinistrum tergit, ac iterum coram metropolitano genuflectit." *Pontif. Rom.* Of this somewhat absurd ceremony we do not find any trace in the English forms. The student should compare however the form "De benedictione novi militis" in the same pontifical; from which it seems to have been introduced.

[41] There is certainly some difficulty about the "armillæ:" not as regards the shape, and purpose, and mode of being put on, for all these points are cleared by the rubric presently cited from the *Liber regalis;* but with respect to the name. There can be little doubt that the "armilla" was originally a bracelet; as Ducange explains the word in his glossary, citing Strabo, lib. 4, and Polybius, lib. 2. The same learned writer adds: "Has denique armillas quas et *Baugas* vocabant, ut præcipua regiæ dignitatis ornamenta habuisse Francos nostros, pluribus docuimus ad Alexiadem pag. 261, quod etiam de Danis ac Anglis testatur Simeon Dunelm. lib. 2. cap. 13, et Thom. Walsingham, p. 196."

A late writer has observed (whether correctly or not I cannot venture an opinion) that "the word *baugas* identifies the 'armillæ' here spoken of with the Icelandic *baugr*, and *armbaugr* the beaȝ and earm-beaȝ of the Anglo-saxons; — their bracelet or arm-ring." *Glory of regality,* p. 84.

But the difficulty above spoken of is scarcely so great as some would make it; who argue that anciently the stole and the armil were two different things, put on separately: first the stole, then the armil or bracelet. I do not see that there is any reasonable ground to suppose this: but rather that the armil was always made in the shape of a stole, and answered the purpose of it. It was called armil, because after being put about the neck it was tied to the arms. Mr. Taylor, above mentioned, appeals to Thomas Walsingham, as "a triumphant authority" to prove that the two were, anciently, different things: but the place he refers to is by no means so clear to that effect: for the historian says, that first the stole was put on, then that the archbishop delivered the armillæ: "Projecta circa collum ejus stola, . . . tunc duo comites eum gladio accinxerunt, quo facto, archiepiscopus armillas dedit ei, dicens: Accipe armillas," &c. *Hist. Angl.* p. 196. This may well be understood to signify that these armillæ were

operationes tuas contra hostes visibiles et invisibiles posse esse munitas: per Dominum.[42]

Deinde tradatur ei pallium,[43] *metropolitano dicente sic:*

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first laid upon the shoulders of the king "in modum stolæ:" and when about to be tied to the arms the archbishop repeated the prescribed form. Nor would there be any obscurity in Walsingham's account if he had not inserted the account of the sword. The two ends however of the armillæ might during that time have been pendent, and untied. But in short: all this argument rests upon the supposition that Walsingham is correct in every detail: he might have been so: but whether or not, it is impossible that he can be so interpreted as to be made to say, that the armillæ and the stole were two different things: for the actual form and order of that coronation which he describes is in the *Liber regalis*, from which I have transcribed in the following note a rubric which settles the dispute.

This is a long note, yet I would add the following from "the little Devise of the coronacion of Henrie VII:" "And it is to wit that armyll is made in manner of a stole woven with golde and set with stones, to be put by the cardinall about the king's neck, and comyng from bothe shulders to his bothe elbowes, where thei shall be fastenid by the abbot of Westminster, with lace of silke to euerie side the elbowe in two places; that is to say, aboue the elbowes and beneth." *Ives' select papers*, p. 110.

[42] The *Liber regalis*, and the margin of the pontifical, have the following rubric:—

"Istæ quidem armillæ, in modum stolæ, circa collum et ab utraque scapula usque ad compages brachiorum erunt dependentes, in ipsis brachiorum compagibus laqueis sericis connexæ, prout plenius per ipsarum poterit discerni compositionem. Deinde pallio regali induetur; quod quidem pallium quadrum est, et aquilis aureis per totum contextum. Et dicat metropolitanus vel episcopus: 'Accipe pallium,' &c."

The order of king Ethelred does not notice the armillæ or the pallium. See above, note 39.

[43] "*Pallium quadrangulum*, cujusmodi etiam fuit Romanorum paludamentum, regum nostrorum proprium fuit: sic autem describitur a monacho Sangallensi, lib. 1. cap. 33: *Gloriosissimus Carolus ad nocturnas laudes pendulo et profundissimo pallio utebatur.* Cap. 36: Ultimus ha-

Accipe pallium quatuor initiis formatum, per quod intelligas quatuor mundi partes divinæ potestati esse subjectas, nec quemquam posse feliciter regnare in terris, nisi cui potestas regnandi fuerit collata de cœlis: per Dominum.

Sequatur benedictio coronæ, hoc modo:

Deus, tuorum corona fidelium, qui in capitibus eorum ponis coronam de lapide pretioso, bene✠dic et sancti✠fica coronam istam, quatenus sicut ipsa diversis pretiosisque lapidibus adornatur, sic famulus tuus gestator ipsius multiplici pretiosarum virtutum munere, tua largiente gratia, repleatur: per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, Regem æternum. Qui tecum.

Tunc aspergatur aqua benedicta[44] *super coronam, et incensetur; deinde imponatur corona capiti regis a metropolitano,*[45] *dicente hoc modo:*

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bitus eorum erat pallium canum vel sapphiricum quadrangulum, duplex, sic formatum, ut cum imponeretur humeris, ante et retro pedes tegeret, de lateribus vero vix genua contegeret. Quod quidem pallii genus etiamnum retinent principes nostri in suis inaugurationibus." Ducange, *Gloss.* in verb.

The open pall, as worn by king James the second, is figured in Sandford's account of that coronation: he calls it also the dalmatic; by which we may suppose that the "robe royal" of modern days, or dalmatic, is the ancient pall. But they were properly distinct vestments, and of different shapes. The dalmatic was a super-tunic, proper to deacons; and originally restricted to bishops. The first mention of it as an ecclesiastical garment is in the life of St. Cyprian by his deacon: who describing his martyrdom says, "cum se dalmatica exspoliasset et diaconibus tradidisset, in linea stetit." The reader need scarcely be reminded that this pall is a very different thing from the pall of an archbishop.

44 "... minutatim super coronam, atque a metropolitano vel episcopo incensetur," &c. *Lib. regalis.* The rubric is the same in the order of king Edward the second.

45 It is worth remarking that

Coronet[46] te Deus corona gloriæ, atque justitiæ honore, et opere fortitudinis, ut per officium nostræ bene✠dictionis, cum fide recta et multiplici bonorum operum fructu, ad coronam pervenias regni perpetui, ipso largiente, cujus regnum permanet in sæcula sæculorum.

Alia oratio.

Deus perpetuitatis, dux virtutum, cunctorum hostium victor, bene✠dic hunc famulum tuum *.N.* tibi caput suum inclinantem, et prolixa sanitate et prospera felicitate eum conserva, et ubicumque auxilium tuum invocaverit, cito adsis, et protegas ac defendas. Tribue ei, quæsumus Domine, divitias gratiæ tuæ, comple in bonis desiderium ejus, corona eum in misericordia tua, tibique Domino pia devotione jugiter famuletur: per Dominum.

Postea cantetur hæc antiphona:

Confortare, et esto vir, et observa mandata Domini Dei tui, ut ambules in viis ejus, et custodias cæremonias ejus, et præcepta ejus, et testimonia, et judicia, et quocunque te verteris confirmet te Deus.

Ps. Dominus regit.

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in the manuscript chronicles or romances illuminations usually represent the crown as being put on by two bishops, one standing on the right the other on the left of the king. Probably this is merely a conventional mode of treatment by the mediæval artist. But the observance of the rule is curious. See, for example, the Cotton MS. Vitellius A. xiij. English, of about 1320.

[46] This and the succeeding prayer are of very high antiquity in this part of the office, occurring after the rubric "*Hic coronetur rex, eique dicatur*" (see note 39) in the Anglo-saxon order of king Ethelred. Between the two prayers in that manuscript is this rubric, "*Oratio super regem, postquam corona fuerit imposita super caput ejus.* Deus perpetuitatis," &c.

Sequitur benedictio annuli.

Deus, cœlestium terrestriumque conditor creaturarum, atque humani generis benignissime reparator, dator spiritualis gratiæ, omniumque benedictionum largitor, qui justitiam tuæ legis in cordibus credentium digito tuo, id est, unigenito tuo scribis, cui magi in Egypto resistere non valentes concinebant, dicentes, digitus Dei est hic, immitte Spiritum sanctum Paraclitum tuum de cœlis super hunc annulum arte fabrili decoratum, et sublimitatis tuæ potentia ita eum emundare digneris, ut omni nequitia lividi venenosique serpentis procul expulsa, metallum a te bono conditore creatum immune a cunctis sordibus inimici maneat: per Christum.

Benedictio.

Bene✠dic, Domine, et sancti✠fica annulum istum, et mitte super eum septiformem Spiritum tuum, quo famulus tuus eo fruens, annulo fidei subarratus, virtute altissimi sine peccato custodiatur, et omnes benedictiones quæ in scripturis divinis reperiuntur super eum copiose descendant, ut quæcumque sanctificaverit sanctificata permaneant, et quæcumque benedixerit spirituali benedictione benedicantur: per Dominum: in unitate ejusdem.

Deinde detur ei annulus, metropolitano dicente:

Accipe regiæ dignitatis annulum, et per hunc in te catholicæ fidei signaculum, quatenus ut hodie ornaris caput et princeps regni ac populi, ita perseveres auctor ac stabilitor Christianitatis et Christianæ fidei; ut felix in opere, locuples in fide, cum Rege regum glorieris, cui est honor et gloria per æterna sæculorum sæcula. Amen.

Deus, cujus est omnis potestas et dignitas, da famulo tuo suæ propriæ dignitatis effectum, in qua,

te remunerante, permaneat, semperque te timeat, tibique jugiter placere contendat. Per Dominum.

Deinde accipiat ensem unde accinctus fuerat, et eum super altare Deo offerat, quem comes aliis superior redimet, et redemptum ante eum deferet nudum.[47] *Cum detur ei sceptrum*[48] *dicat metropolitanus:*

Accipe sceptrum regiæ potestatis insigne, virgam scilicet regni, rectam virgam virtutis, qua teipsum bene regas, sanctam ecclesiam populumque videlicet Christianum, tibi a Deo commissum, regia virtute ab improbis defendas, pravos corrigas, rectos pacifices, et ut viam rectam tenere possint tuo juvamine dirigas, quatenus de temporali regno ad æternum regnum pervenias, ipso adjuvante cujus regnum permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Post[49] *datum sceptrum, oratio.*

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[47] The *Liber regalis* and the margin of the pontifical add: "Cujus ensis pretium dicto altari pertinet. Deinde dabitur ei sceptrum in manu dextra, quod quidem sceptrum aureum est, in cujus summitate crux parva collocatur, prius chirothecis de regalibus manibus ejus applicatis, a metropolitano vel episcopo dicente: 'Accipe sceptrum,'" &c.

In the order of king Ethelred, the rubric immediately succeeding the prayer (see note 46) "Deus perpetuitatis" is "*Hic detur regi sceptrum, eique dicatur:* 'Accipe sceptrum,'" &c. The reader will observe that all this part of the office can be traced in the same order, up to the Anglo-saxon age.

[48] There cannot be a better distinction laid down between the two sceptres, the "sceptrum" and the "virga," than that in the rubric from the *Liber regalis* in the note above, compared with the succeeding rubric from the same book in note 50: namely, that the one was surmounted by a cross, the other by a dove. And Hoveden, in his account of the coronation of Richard the first, gives the same explanation. We learn from the Ethelred order that there was a distinction in the Saxon age between the two sceptres: and there is every reason to suppose that it was of the same kind then as in after years.

[49] "*Oratio super regem, post-*

Omnium Domine fons bonorum, cunctorumque Deus institutor perfectuum, tribue, quæsumus, famulo tuo .*N*. adeptam bene regere dignitatem, et a te sibi præstitum honorem dignare corroborare: honorifica eum præ cunctis regibus, uberi eum benedictione ✠ locupleta, et in solio regni firma stabilitate consolida, visita eum in sobole, præsta ei prolixitatem vitæ, in diebus ejus semper oriatur justitia, ut cum jocunditate et lætitia æterno glorietur in regno. Per Christum.

Postmodum tradatur ei virga in sinistra manu:[50] *dicente metropolitano:*

Accipe virgam virtutis atque æquitatis, qua intelligas te mulcere pios, et terrere reprobos: errantes viam doce, lapsisque manum porrige, disperdasque superbos, et releves humiles, ut aperiat tibi ostium Jesus Christus Dominus noster, qui de seipso ait, Ego sum ostium, per me si quis introierit salvabitur. Et ipse qui est clavis David, et sceptrum domus Israel, qui aperit et nemo claudit, claudit et nemo aperit, sit tibi adjutor, qui educit vinctum de domo carceris sedentem in tenebris et umbra mortis, ut in omnibus sequi merearis eum de quo propheta David cecinit, Sedes tua, Deus, in sæculum sæculi, virga recta est virga regni tui: et imitare eum qui dicit, Diligas justitiam et odio habeas iniquitatem, propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo lætitiæ: ad exemplum illius quem ante sæcula unxerat præ

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quam datum fuerit ei sceptrum: Omnium, Domine, fons bonorum," &c. Order of king Ethelred.

[50] "Quæ quidem virga aurea est, habens in summitate columbam auream." Rubr. *Lib. reg.* and the margin of Sar. pontif. The rubric in the order of king Ethelred, preceding the "Accipe virgam," is "*Hic regi virga detur, eique dicatur.*"

participibus suis, Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum. Qui cum Patre.

Tunc dicatur[51] *super eum benedictio sequens:*

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[51] This benediction is appointed in the order of king Henry the first and in the Cotton MS. Tiberius B. viij. of the eleventh century. But in the Anglo-saxon form of king Ethelred we have the following:—

"*Benedictio ad regem.*

"Extendat omnipotens Dominus dexteram suæ benedictionis, et effundat super te donum suæ protectionis, et circumdet te muro felicitatis, ac custodia suæ protectionis: sanctæ Mariæ, ac beati Petri apostolorum principis, sanctique Gregorii Anglorum apostoli atque omnium sanctorum intercedentibus meritis. Amen.

"Indulgeat tibi Dominus omnia mala quæ gessisti, et tribuat tibi gratiam et misericordiam quam humiliter ab eo deposcis, ut liberet te ab adversitatibus cunctis, et ab omnibus visibilium et invisibilium inimicorum insidiis. Amen.

"Angelos suos bonos semper et ubique qui te præcedant, comitentur et subsequantur, ad custodiam tui ponat, et a peccato seu gladio, et ab omnium periculorum discrimine sua te potentia liberet. Amen.

"Inimicos tuos ad pacis caritatisque benignitatem convertat, et bonis omnibus te gratiosum et amabilem faciat, pertinaces quoque in tui insectatione et odio confusione salutari induat: super te autem sanctificatio sempiterna floreat.

"Victoriosum te atque triumphatorem de invisibilibus atque visibilibus hostibus semper efficiat, et sancti nominis sui timorem pariter et amorem continuum cordi tuo infundat, et in fide recta ac bonis operibus perseverabilem reddat, et pace in diebus tuis concessa, cum palma victoriæ te ad perpetuum regnum producat. Amen.

"Et qui te voluit super populum suum constituere regem, et in præsenti sæculo felicem, et æternæ felicitatis tribuat esse consortem.

"*Alia.*

"Benedic, Domine, hunc præelectum principem, qui regna omnium regum a sæculo moderaris. Amen.

"Et tali eum benedictione glorifica, ut Davidica teneat sublimitate sceptrum salutis: et sanctificæ propitiationis munere reperiatur locupletatus. Amen.

"Da ei tuo spiramine regere populum sicut Salomonem fecisti regnum obtinere pacificum. Amen.

"*Designatio status regis.*

"Sta et retine," &c.

Benedicat tibi Dominus custodiatque te, et sicut te voluit super populum suum esse regem, ita in præsenti sæculo felicem, et æternæ felicitatis tribuat esse consortem. Amen.

Clerum ac populum, quem sua voluit opitulatione tua sanctione congregari, sua dispensatione et tua administratione per diuturna tempora faciat feliciter gubernari. Amen.

Quatenus divinis monitis parentes, adversantibus omnibus carentes, bonis omnibus exuberantes, tuo imperio fideli amore obsequentes, et in præsenti sæculo pacis tranquillitate fruantur, et tecum æternorum civium consortio potiri mereantur. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare dignetur.[52]

Coronatus autem osculetur episcopos, a quibus vero et etiam aliis regni proceribus ducetur ad regale solium, choro canente:

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[52] In the *Liber regalis*, and in the margin of the pontifical, the rubric is:—

"Et prævideatur a sacrista Westm. quod ornamenta regalia cum magna corona prius sint super magnum altare honorifice collocata: ut omnia fiant sine impedimento, propter maximam plebis confluentiam, quæ in hujusmodi coronationibus indubitanter solet evenire. Coronatus autem rex, et regalibus prius indutus per abbatem Westm. caligis, sandaliis, et calcaribus coaptatis, osculabitur episcopos, a quibus," &c.

There is sufficient evidence in history that the caution in this rubric, as to the throng of people, was not uncalled for: thus, Walsingham tells us in his account of the coronation of Edward the second, "Fuit autem ibi tanta compressio populi, ut quidam miles, Johannes de Blackwel, sine viatico expiraret." *Hist. Angl.* p. 96. And again, incidentally, as to the coronation of king Richard the second, "Adveniente die præfixo, conveniunt de cunctis regni partibus in tanta quidem copia ut numerus Londoniæ confluentium multitudinem eorum, qui ad regis coronationem paucis annis ante confluxerant excessive (multorum testimonio) superaret." *Ibid.* p. 237. See also Holinshed, vol. iii. p. 319.

Te Deum laudamus.

Quo hymno ad finem producto, dicat metropolitanus:[53]

Sta et retine amodo locum, quem hucusque paterna successione tenuisti hæreditario judicio, tibi delegatum per auctoritatem Dei omnipotentis, et præsentem traditionem nostram et omnium episcoporum cæterorumque Dei servorum: et quanto clerum sacris altaribus propinquiorem perspicis, tanto ei potiorem in locis congruis honorem impendere memineris; quatenus mediator Dei et hominum, te mediatorem cleri et plebis in hoc regni solio confirmet, et in regnum æternum regnare faciat, Jesus Christus, Dominus noster, Rex regum, et Dominus dominantium: qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[54]

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[53] "... *dicat consecrans regem.*" Rubr. *Lib. regalis.*

[54] The reader will remember (see note 39) that with this "designatio status," as it is termed in king Ethelred's order, the earlier forms conclude. In fact the two succeeding prayers would seem to belong properly to the mass which follows, and where they are ordered in the pontifical to be said, as the student will observe. Hence they are not placed here in the order of Edward the second nor in the *Liber regalis*, nor in the MS. in the king's library (Brit. mus.) 12. D. iij. In the Evesham pontifical, however (Lansdown MS. 451), we find them placed as in the text. But what is very remarkable, they are appointed to be said here in the very ancient Anglo-saxon order of king Ethelred, with which that form concludes. Thus:—

"Sta et retine, &c.

"*Sequitur oratio.* Omnipotens Deus det tibi, &c.

"*Alia oratio.* Benedic, Domine, fortitudinem, &c.

"*Finit consecratio regis.*" Then follows the order for a queen, and the proper mass. In my remark above, that these two prayers would *seem* to belong more properly to the mass, I am borne out by a marginal note in the pontifical, in a somewhat later hand: viz. "Istæ duæ orationes sequentes debent dici super regem infra missam, postquam ob-

Oratio.

Omnipotens sempiternus Deus det tibi, de rore cœli et de pinguedine terræ, abundantiam frumenti et vini et olei, et serviant tibi populi, et adorent te tribus. Esto dominus fratrum tuorum, et incurventur ante te filii matris tuæ. Qui benedixerit tibi benedictionibus repleatur, et Deus erit adjutor tuus. Omnipotens Deus benedicat tibi benedictionibus cœli desuper, et in montibus et in collibus, benedictionibus abyssi jacentis deorsum, benedictionibus uberum et frumentorum, benedictionibus uvarum pomorumque; benedictiones patrum antiquorum, Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, confirmatæ sint super te, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Bene✠dic, Domine, fortitudinem hujus principis, et opera manuum illius suscipe; et benedictione tua terra ejus de bonis repleatur, de fructu cœli et rore, atque abyssi subjacentis, de fructu solis et lunæ, de vertice antiquorum montium, de pomis æternorum collium, et de frugibus terræ et plenitudine ejus. Bene✠dictio illius qui apparuit in rubo veniat super caput istius, et plena sit benedictio Domini in filiis ejus, et tingat in oleo pedem suum. Cornua rhinocerontis cornua illius, in ipsis ventilabit gentes usque ad terminos terræ, et ascensor cœli auxiliator suus in sempiternum fiat. Per Dominum: qui tecum vivit.

Rege itaque in solio suo taliter collocato, pares regni dictum regem undique circumstantes, manibus palam

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lationem fecerit." But the reader will not fail to perceive that the text, below, of the pontifical itself leaves it doubtful: merely saying, "vel dicantur loco quo intitulantur, secundum quosdam."

extensis in signum fidelitatis, offerent se ad dicti regis et dictæ coronæ sustentationem.[55]

Deinde sequatur coronatio reginæ, si eodem die fuerit coronanda.

Sin autem, incipiatur officium missæ[56] *a cantoribus*

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[55] The *Liber regalis* and the margin of the pontifical add: —

"Et illi præcipue qui stirpi regali sunt propinquiores in sustentationem coronæ, sceptri, et virgæ, regios labores alleviabunt: facto prius dicto regi, ab omnibus proceribus regni tunc præsentibus, publice super dictum pulpitum homagio."

Regarded merely as a piece of mediæval furniture, the coronation chair in Westminster abbey is one of the most curious existing. It was made in the year 1300, according to one of the entries in the wardrobe accounts of Edward the first. Originally it was decorated and richly gilt: upon the back was painted a male figure, in a long vestment; faint traces only of which can now be distinguished. But the mere curiosity of the chair is nothing in comparison with its historical interest. As the late dean of Westminster says in the *Memorials of Westminster abbey*, "there is no reason to doubt that from the time of Edward the first every English sovereign has been inaugurated upon it." The very reason also why the chair was ordered by king Edward to be made gives it an additional value. Underneath is placed the famous *Stone of Scone*. "On this precious relic Edward fixed his hold. He had already hung up before the confessor's shrine the golden coronet of the last prince of Wales. It was a still further glory to deposit there the very seat of the kingdom of Scotland. Westminster was to be an English Scone. In that last year of Edward's reign [1307] the venerable chair, which still encloses it, was made for it by the orders of its captor; the fragment of the world-old Celtic races was imbedded in the new Plantagenet oak." *Memorials*, p. 62. See also the appendix, p. 492.

[56] There is scarcely an instance upon record from the time that the coronation of our sovereigns became an office especially to be fulfilled by the Church, that the celebration of the blessed eucharist did not also form part of it; either before, or after, or mixed up with the rites and ceremonies of the solemnity itself. Nor has it been otherwise with other Christian nations. Thus Baronius (*ad annum* 816) speaks of the coronation of Louis the pious

de solemnitate diei, si contigerit dictam fieri coronationem in festo solemni. Si vero evenerit quod dicta coronatio fiat in simplici die, dicatur, missa prius de dominica a conventu debito modo celebrata, missa specialis pro rege: videlicet, Officium:

Protector noster aspice Deus, et respice in faciem Christi tui: quia melior est dies una in atriis tuis super millia.

Ps. Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine virtutum: concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria Domini.

Et quocumque tempore anni dicta coronatio fuerit facta, dicetur ad missam:

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

Oratio.

Quæsumus[57] omnipotens Deus, ut famulus tuus rex noster, qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gu-

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and his queen: "Postea pontifex honoravit eum magnis honoribus, et multis, et reginam Irmingardam, et omnes optimates, et ministros ejus: et in proxima dominica, ante missarum solemnia, coram clero, et omni populo, consecravit eum, et unxit ad imperatorem," &c. Again, the same historian, describing a coronation by pope Stephen the second in the preceding century, says: "Inter celebrationem consecrationis altaris, et oblationem sacratissimi sacrificii, unxit in reges Francorum florentissimum regem [Pipinum] et duos filios ejus, Carolum et Carlomannum." *Ad annum* 714. The reader will also see by reference to the appendix to this office, below, that in the eighth century, according to the pontifical of archbishop Egbert, it was the custom to mix up the solemnities of the coronation with the service of the eucharist.

[57] The "Missa pro rege ordinato" in king Ethelred's office begins with this collect; the same, except the variation noticed just below. This mass gives a proper collect, secret, preface, and benediction: there was a postcommunion also or "*ad complendum*," but the manuscript is imperfect and ends with those two words.

bernacula, virtutum etiam omnium percipiat incrementa, quibus decenter ornatus, et vitiorum[58] voraginem devitare, et hostes superare, et ad te, qui via, veritas et vita es, gratiosus valeat pervenire: per Dominum.

Et si regina fuerit eodem die coronata, dicetur ad missam pro rege quam pro regina, ista oratio.

Deus, in cujus manu corda sunt regum, qui es humilium consolator, et fidelium fortitudo, et protector omnium in te sperantium, da regi nostro .*N.* et reginæ nostræ .*N.* populoque Christiano, triumphum virtutis tuæ scienter excolere, ut per te semper reparentur ad veniam. Per Dominum.

Lectio epistolæ beati Petri apostoli.

Carissimi; subjecti estote omni humanæ creaturæ propter Deum, sive regi quasi præcellenti, sive ducibus tanquam ab eo missis, ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum. Quia sic est voluntas Dei, ut benefacientes obmutescere faciatis imprudentium hominum ignorantiam. Non quasi velamen habentes malitiæ libertatem, sed sicut servi Dei. Omnes honorate, fraternitatem diligite. Deum timete, regem honorificate. Servi subditi estote in omni timore dominis. Non tantum bonis et modestis; sed etiam discolis. Hæc est enim gratia in Christo Jesu, Domino nostro.

Gr. Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo, Domine.

Vers. Elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum. Alleluia.

Vers. Domine, in virtute tua lætabitur rex: et super salutare tuum exultabit vehementer.

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[58] "Et vitiorum monstra devitare, et ad te, qui via," &c. Order of king Ethelred.

Si dicta coronatio fiat infra septuagesimam, dicatur sequens tractus:

Desiderium animi ejus tribuisti ei, et voluntate labiorum ejus non fraudasti eum.

Vers. Quoniam prævenisti eum in benedictione dulcedinis.

Vers. Posuisti super caput ejus coronam de lapide pretioso.

Secundum Matthæum.

In illo tempore: abeuntes Pharisæi consilium inierunt, ut caperent Jesum in sermone. Et mittunt ei discipulos suos cum Herodianis dicentes; magister, scimus quia verax es, et viam Dei in veritate doces, et non est tibi cura de aliquo. Non enim respicis personam hominum. Dic ergo nobis quid tibi videtur: Si licet censum dare Cæsari an non? Cognita autem Jesus nequitia eorum ait; quid me tentatis, hypocritæ? Ostendite mihi numisma census. At illi obtulerunt ei denarium. Et ait illis Jesus, cujus est imago hæc et superscriptio? Dicunt ei, Cæsaris. Tunc ait illis: reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo.

Lecto evangelio, dum symbolum a choro cantatur, major inter archiepiscopos sive episcopos tunc assistens librum evangelii accipiet, et tam ad regem quam ad reginam deportabit ad osculandum. Deinde referet ad archiepiscopum sive episcopum qui missam celebrat. Quo vero evangelistario a dicto pontifice deosculato, symboloque a choro decantato, incipiatur offertorium.

Intende voci orationis meæ, rex meus et Deus meus, quoniam ad te orabo, Domine.

Dum canitur offertorium,[59] *procedent rex et regina*

[59] "Oblatio panis, et vini, et unius marcæ:" marginal note in the pontifical.

de soliis suis coronati ad altare, dictique metropolitani manibus vel missam celebrantis oblationem panis et vini, imitando Melchisedech [rex ?] imponet. Deinde offeret marcam auri, et postea regina offeret oblationem suam, et capite regis ante altare paululum inclinato, dicat pontifex qui celebrat missam orationes sequentes.

Dominus vobiscum.

Omnipotens Deus det tibi de rore cœli.

Benedic, Domine, fortitudinem hujus principis.

Ut supra,[60] *vel dicantur loco quo intitulantur, secundum quosdam.*

His orationibus finitis, reducantur ad sedes suas.

Sequatur secretum.

Munera, quæsumus Domine, oblata sanctifica, ut et nobis unigeniti tui corpus et sanguis fiant, et famulo tuo regi nostro ad obtinendam animæ corporisque salutem, et ad peragendum injunctum officium, te largiente, usquequaque perficiant. Per eundem.

Aliud secretum pro rege et regina.[61]

Suscipe, Deus, preces et hostias ecclesiæ tuæ, pro salute famuli tui regis nostri .*N.* et reginæ nostræ *N.* et protectione fidelium populorum, supplicantis ut antiqua brachii tui te operante miracula, superatis inimicis, secura tibi serviat Christianorum libertas. Per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum.

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[60] See above, p. 38, and the note there. It may be added also that the mass in the text agrees, generally, with that appointed in the order of king Edward the second.

[61] This does not occur in the royal MS. D. 12. iij, nor in the order of Edward the second, nor in the Evesham pontifical. The *Liber regalis* reads, "Suscipe, Domine, preces," &c.

Præfatio[62] *in coronatione regis.*

Æterne Deus, qui es fons immarcessibilis lucis, et origo perpetuæ bonitatis, regum consecrator, bonorum omnium attributor, dignitatumque largitor, cujus ineffabilem clementiam votis omnibus exoramus, ut famulum tuum .*N.* quem regalis dignitatis fastigio voluisti sublimari, sapientiæ cæterarumque virtutum ornamentis facias decorari. Et quia tui est muneris quod regnat, tuæ sit pietatis quo id feliciter agat, quatenus in fundamento spei fidei caritatisque fundatus, peccatorum labe abstersus, de visibilibus et invisibilibus hostibus triumphator effectus, subjecti populi augmento, prosperitate et securitate exhilaratus, cum eis mutua dilectione connexus, et transitorii regni gubernacula inculpabiliter teneat, et ad æterni infinita gaudia, te miserante, perveniat. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Sequatur ante Agnus Dei *benedictio*[63] *super regem et populum.*

Omnipotens Deus carismatum suorum vos locu-

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[62] The order of king Ethelred appoints the same preface; and it is somewhat remarkable that the Evesham pontifical, unless I am mistaken in my note of it, has no proper preface.

[63] The following is appointed in king Ethelred's form:—

"*Benedictio.* Providentia et gubernatio Dei omnipotentis, quæ te in regale dignitatis solium hodierna die mirifice disposuit ordinare, dignetur te benedicere, sublimare, et triumphabiliter confirmare.

"Faciat te prudentem consilio, audacem ingenio, præclarum imperio, ut culmina regni sagaciter prævideas, et hostium machinamenta fortiter repugnes. Amen.

"Quatenus lorica fidei munitus, ense trophæi stipatus, galea quoque salutis redimitus, securus vitæ tempora subtiliter et perspicaciter possideas, ut cum Christo, rege regum et domino dominorum, in æternæ felicitatis regno feliciter regnare valeas. Amen."

pletet jocunditate, et regem nostrum ecclesiasticæ pacis perfrui faciat tranquillitate. Amen.

Angelum sanctum suum ubique ei custodem tribuat et defensorem, tamque vobis quam et illi virtutum sanctarum conferat vigorem. Amen.

Ambitum regni sui in diebus ejus pax circumdet honesta, et quocumque se vertet, adversariorum vis enervetur infesta, omnisque in vobis religio abundet modesta. Amen. Quod ipse præstare.

Dum canitur Agnus Dei, *accepto osculo pacis a pontifice missam celebrante, is qui librum evangelii ante detulerat, deferet pacem regi et reginæ in soliis suis residentibus. Osculo autem pacis a rege et regina accepto, descendentes rex et regina de soliis suis, et accedentes humiliter ad altare, percipient corpus et sanguinem Domini de manu archiepiscopi, vel episcopi missam celebrantis.*[64] *Perceptis tam a rege quam a regina corpore et sanguine Christi, ad dicta solia redibunt immediate.*[65] *Quibus in sedibus suis residentibus, incipiatur a cantoribus communio.*

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[64] "Corpore vero Domini a rege recepto, ministrabit ei vinum ad utendum post perceptionem sacramenti abbas Westm. vel is qui vicem ejus pro tempore gerit, prout dictum est, de calice lapideo de regalibus; ac etiam reginæ post regem de eodem calice prædictus abbas ministrabit in signum videlicet unitatis. Quia sicut in Christo sunt una caro fœdere conjugali, sic etiam de uno calice participare debent. Perceptis tam," &c. *Liber regalis*, and the margin of the pontifical.

[65] A long account of the coronation of Richard the second is given by Walsingham, who was almost a contemporary. It seems that at this part of the ceremony, John Dymock the champion ("athleta regis" as he is called in the margin) having prepared himself offered to throw down his challenge. But he was sent away by the earl marshal, and desired to come again during the banquet. He was armed in the best suit of the king's armour, except one suit: and had chosen the best horse except one in the

Intellige clamorem meum, intende voci orationis meæ, Rex meus et Deus meus, quoniam ad te orabo, Domine.

Postcommunio.

Hæc nos, Domine, communio purget a crimine, et famulum tuum .*N*. regem nostrum ab omnibus tueatur adversis, quatenus et ecclesiasticæ pacis obtineat tranquillitatem, et post istius temporis decursum ad æternam perveniat hæreditatem. Per Dominum.[66]

Alia postcommunio pro rege et regina.

Præsta quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut per hæc mysteria quæ sumpsimus, rex noster et regina nostra *N*. et populus Christianus semper rationabilia meditantes, quæ tibi sunt placita et dictis exequantur et factis. Per.

Expleta missa, descendent rex et regina de soliis suis, et procedent ad magnum altare, pontificibus et magnatibus ipsos comitantibus. Qui mox ad altare cum pervenerint, dictus pontifex qui missam celebravit, et eisdem vestimentis quibus fuerat prius pontificaliter indutus, altaris ministris, ut prius indutis, cum ceroferariis et thuriferariis reverenter ipsum præcedentibus, usque ad feretrum sancti Edwardi est devote incessurus, rege et regina suis indutis regalibus, cum dictis pontificibus et proceribus, dictum episcopum subsequentibus. Quo cum pervenerint ante altare dicti feretri, dictus pontifex deponet coronas

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king's stables to ride upon; both horse and armour being his after the ceremony was over. *Hist. Angl.* p. 197.

[66] The order for king Edward the second ends here: with the rubric "*Finit consecratio regis.*" Nor is this second post-communion in the royal MS. 12. D. iij, or in the Evesham pontifical.

de capitibus eorum, ponetque eas super altare præfatum: et cætera.[67]

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[67] The following long note is introduced into the text of the rubric of the *Liber regalis*, and concludes in that manuscript the office of the coronation of a king. Being too long to be written (as usual) on the margin of the Sarum pontifical an extra folio has been inserted, upon which it is written, not in red but in black: with marginal notes which I introduce here also below:—

"Deinde magnus camerarius[a] Angliæ exuet regem regalibus antedictis, quæ per dictum camerarium singillatim, sicut a rege auferuntur, tradentur abbati Westmonasteriensi, vel vicem ejus agenti, ut sæpius præscriptum est, super dictum altare reponenda. Eritque ibi locus[b] clausus, juxta altare, cum curtinis, per regios ministros præparatus, in quo rex de suis ut prædictum est exutus regalibus, usque ad tunicam sericam et camisiam, ac caligas regales et sandaria, a dicto magno camerario[c] aliis vestibus de novo erit reindutus. Regina interim coram dicto altare regem expectante, deponet etiam rex dictas caligas et sandaria, quæ a dicto camerario prædicto abbati Westmonasteriensi vel locum ejus tenenti integre restituantur, et aliis caligis et sandariis induetur a camerario præfato.

"Rex[d] igitur ut prædictum est aliis vestibus honorifice reindutus, procedet humiliter ad altare feretri antedicti. Quo cum advenerit, dictus archiepiscopus, sive episcopus, revestitus eodem modo quo fuerat quando missam celebravit, alias coronas[e] capitibus regis et reginæ reverenter imponet. Qui sic a dicto pontifice coronati, et sceptra[f] tantum de regalibus in manibus portantes, a dicto feretro per magnum altare, et dictum pulpitum ascendentes, per medium chori eadem via qua venerant in ecclesiam, prænominatis comitibus[g] prædictos gladios coram rege deferentibus, cum magna gloria sunt reversuri.

"Et sciendum quod exterius indumentum, quo dictus rex illo die ante coronationem fuerat indutus, pertinet ad monachum qui habet pro tunc custodiam vestibuli dicti monasterii.

Et providebitur illo die conventui Westmonasteriensi per

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[a] Camerarius magnus Angliæ exuit regem.

[b] Locus clausus, juxta altare.

[c] Camerarius reinduit regem.

[d] Processus regis ad altare feretri.

[e] Impositio alterius coronæ capite regis.

[f] Sceptrum.

[g] Comites ut prius.

regios ministros, quod dictus conventus percipiet[h] die eodem centum similas, et modium vini, ac etiam de piscibus, quantum convenit dignationi regali. Quid vero sit modius vini, et quæ mensura, ex verbis Papiæ in suo elementario in .M. litera hac dictione modius, et in .S. litera hac dictione sextarium manifeste declaratur.

"Dicta vero sceptra[i] liberabuntur, statim finito prandio et rege thalamum ingresso, abbati Westmonasteriensi sive alio monacho ad hoc assignato, per manus dictorum regis et reginæ, ut una cum aliis regalibus in dicto monasterio, prout per bullas papales, et regum chartas, ac antiqua et semper observata consuetudine, plenius habetur; quod sit locus regiæ institutionis et coronationis, ac etiam repositorium regalium insignium in perpetuum, sub hac enim ratione in rescriptis papalium privilegiorum et regalium cartarum, ecclesia præfata, scilicet ecclesia beati Petri Westmonasterii, diadema regni nominatur, caput pariter et corona, tanquam ea quæ sola inter ceteras Angliæ ecclesias speciali prærogativa præfulget.

[k] Servit ea die senescallia comes Leceystriæ, licet comes Norfolchiæ illud sibi vendicaverit obsequium. De mappario serviet *.N.* de Hastyng, qui extractas post prandium mappas tanquam suas recipiet. Salarium et cultellos apponet *.N.* de Bello Campo de Dumely, cujus est officium panetariæ. De officio pincernariæ serviet comes de Arundell."

In the above the word "pincerna" or "pincernarius" is thus explained by Ducange, "qui vinum convivis miscet. Catholicon parvum, *pincerna, bouteiller.* Joan de Janua, *Pincerna dicitur vini dispensator, vel potius propinator, qui porrigit ex officio poculum domino suo.*"

The word "simila" also occurs, which is thus explained by Ducange: "Simila ut *simenellus*, panis ex simila, vel etiam placentulæ species, quæ alibi *foliata* dicitur." "Panis similaceus, ex *Simila*, Græcis σεμιδαλίτης, cui secundum inter panes bonitatis locum assignat Galenus lib. 1. de aliment. Anglis *simnelbread.* Inde regiis mensis ministrari olim solitus. Liber de situ ecclesiæ Belli in Anglia. *Constituens in primo monachis ejusdem ecclesiæ ad cotidianos usus panem regiæ mensæ aptum, qui simenel vulgo vocatur.*" *Bromptonus ann.* 1044. "Eo die præcentor loci recipiat de fisco regio dimidiam marcam, et conventus centum simenellos, et unum modium vini." *Glossarium in verb.*

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[h] Conventus habet illo die de rege, &c.

[i] Deliberatio sceptrorum.

[k] Domini servientes in die.

Spelman in his glossary says that the simnels were made of the best and not of any inferior wheat: "Panis purior, sic dictus, quod a simila, hoc est, puriori farinæ parte efficitur." This certainly would have been a reason why the simnels should be especially given to the monks of Westminster on the festival of a coronation. At any rate it is to be hoped that, whatever they were made of, they were more tempting to look at (of the taste I cannot speak) than simnels of the present day, which are really offensive in their appearance; and cannot but be as another old writer, Constantinus Africanus, has described them "very indigestible" although possibly "very nutritious." We must commiserate the daily fare of the convent of Westminster when simnels such as these were an extraordinary treat.

The town of Devizes, in Wiltshire, has long been famous for these "simnels:" and at present (I am told) they are made of flour, yeast, saffron, currants, and spice. They are first boiled, and afterwards baked.

Officium Coronationis Reginae.

Officium coronationis Reginae.

DIE quo regina[67] *sola coronanda est, conveniant in palatio regali apud Westmonasterium prælati et nobiles regni, et ordinetur processio per archiepiscopos, episcopos, et prælatos, abbatem*

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[67] The pontificals differ in the first rubric of this office. The earlier books are very short in their directions; and some refer to an ordo Romanus, not now followed by the Roman pontifical, for the benediction "ad introitum" or "ad ostium ecclesiæ." Thus the imperfect Salisbury pontifical in the Bodleian, the Cotton MS. Tiberius E. viij, and B. viij (of the twelfth century) begin:—"*Benedictio reginæ dicenda in ingressu ecclesiæ secundum ordinem Romanum:* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, fons," &c. To these may be added the Evesham pontifical, before cited, which has the same rubric: but the authority of that MS. (an abbatial pontifical, it must be remembered) is very much lessened in many offices by its constant mixture of and reference to other uses; not only the Roman but the French. It may be as well to give here, in brief, the full order as it continues in those manuscripts:—

"*Post hanc sequitur benedictio dicenda ante altare:* Deus, qui solus habes." (Here the Bodleian MS. is imperfect.) "*Item post hanc in sacri olei unctione sequitur hæc oratio:* Spiritus sancti gratia humilitatis. *Hic unguatur oleo sancto:* In nomine Patris et Filii. *Hic detur annulus.* Accipe annulum. *Sequitur oratio.* Deus cujus est. *Benedictio coronæ.* Deus tuorum corona. *Item in eodem ordine, ad coronæ impositionem. Postquam benedicta fuerit, coronabitur.* Accipe coronam." The MS. Tib. B. viij. alone adds:—"*Alia.* Officio indignitatis nostræ. *Oratio.* Omnium, Domine, fons bonorum."

In the order of king Edward the second we find the benediction, but (as in the text) no reference is made to the "ordo Romanus." It seems now to have become a settled part of the English office, and not requiring any longer an external authority: "*Ad benedictionem sive consecrationem reginæ, dicetur ab episcopo ad ingressum ecclesiæ oratio.* Om-

et conventum Westm. in capis sericis, et aliis, quia processus requirunt honorificentiam: et sic induti reginæ coronandæ processionaliter occurrant in palatio antedicto.

Quæ quidem regina induta erit tunica, et cyclade [68]

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nipotens sempiterne Deus, fons," &c. This order generally corresponds, except in the shortness of its rubrics, with the text: and I shall mark the chief variations as we proceed.

In the order of king Henry the first with which, generally, the Winchester pontifical agrees, this benediction is omitted altogether: whence we may conclude that it was introduced very shortly after his time: the earliest MS. inwhich I have seen it being that cited above, Tiberius B. viij. It will be well, in this case as before, to give at once the whole arrangement at this date, A.D. 1100:—

"*Benedictio reginæ quæ ab episcopo in ecclesia, coram optimatibus, ante altare facienda est. Oratio.* Deus qui solus habes. *Hic effundatur oleum sanctum super verticem ejus in modum crucis, dicente episcopo:* In nomine patris, &c. *Sequatur oratio.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, affluentem. *Hic detur annulus, dicente episcopo:* Accipe annulum. *Sequatur oratio.* Deus cujus est omnis. *Benedictio coronæ regiæ.* Deus tuorum corona. *Hic coronetur.* Accipe coronam. *Sequatur oratio.* Omnium, Domine, fons bonorum."

Lastly, we have the very valuable and important order of king Ethelred, which has a rubric at the beginning of somewhat greater length and of no little interest:—

"*Finit consecratio regis.*" See above, note 54. "*Quam sequitur consecratio reginæ, quæ propter honorificentiam ab episcopo sacri unguinis oleo super verticem perfundenda est, et in ecclesia coram optimatibus cum condigno honore et regia celsitudine, in regalis thori consortium, benedicenda et consecranda est; quæ etiam annulo pro integritate fidei, et corona pro æternitatis gloria decoranda est.*

"*Incipit consecratio reginæ: ab episcopo dicenda est:* In nomine patris, &c. *Oratio.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, affluentem. *Hic detur ei annulus.* Accipe annulum. *Alia.* Deus cujus est. *Hic coronetur.* Accipe coronam. *Alia.* Omnium, Domine, fons bonorum."

[68] "*Cyclas.* Vestis undique clausa per extremum ambitum, sinuosa, et dum terram verrebat, circulum quempiam efficiens, unde nomen a Græco κύκλος inditum videtur. . . Cyclas proprie

cum fimbria longa et defluenti; quæ quidem tunica et cyclas unius erunt coloris, videlicet purpurei, et unius texturæ, sine opere aliquo alio artificiali desuper intexto: capite nudato, laxatos circa humeros decenter habens crines, gestabit circulum aureum gemmis ornatum, ut honestius crines capiti ejus constringantur.

Hanc sic ornatam præcedet rex regalibus suis indutus, si præsens esse placuerit, tunc subsequentur duo magnates, quorum primus præcedens portabit sceptrum reginæ. Alius vero reginæ portabit coronam, quos subsequetur regina, quam reverenter hinc inde sustentabunt duo episcopi ad hoc per regem assignati: et ibi erunt barones quinque portuum,[69] *qui*

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feminarum fuit. Britannicus ad sat. 6. Juven. *Cyclas vestis est muliebris tenuissima et rotunda.* Hanc pronubis tribuit Sidonius, l. 1. epist. 4. Regino an. 753. *Sed et Bertradam conjugem ipsius regis, indutam cycladibus regiis.* Et monachus Pegaviensis, an. 1096. *Juditha comitissa, filia Wratislai Boiemici regis, coronata, et auro textis induviis regaliter adornata, processit, et coronam auro gemmisque insignitam, et cycladem auro textam, instar dalmaticæ, et pretiosissimi operis, quam sub mantello ferebat, etiam auro texto induta.* Cosmas Pragensis an. 1086. *Et imposuit diadema super caput ipsius, et ejus conjugis cyclade regia amictæ.*" Ducange, *in verb.*

[69] "These 'barons' are the freemen of the ports, and the number deputed by each of the towns is as follows:—for Hastings, 3; Dover, 2; Hithe, 2; Rye, 2; Sandwich, 3; Romney, 2; Winchelsea, 2; the same with either canopy." Taylor's *Glory of regality*, p. 139.

The same writer says "the claim of the cinque-ports is founded on a prescriptive right, recognised by the charter of king Charles II, in which 'consideration is had' of 'the most pleasing and acceptable service which the barons of the Cinque Ports and of the antient towns aforesaid have performed and paid to us at our inauguration to the crown of this our kingdom of England, according as in times past they did and were bound to do, to our progenitors the kings and queens of Eng-

pannum sericum quadratum ac purpureum, qui alias umbraculum nominatur, quatuor hastis deargentatis sustentatum, cum quatuor campanellis argenteis, et deauratis, ultra regem incedentem quocunque ierit gestabunt. Ad quamlibet hastam quatuor assignati, per diversitatem portuum, ne videatur portus portui præferri. Eodem modo ultra reginam coronandam a totidem baronibus portabitur pannus consimilis, cum totidem hastis et campanellis aliis consimilibus.

Pannum vero stragulatum[70] *prosternendum sub*

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land at their respective coronations, the time of the contrary being never remembered to have been.'" *Great and antient charter of the cinque-ports*, 12mo. 1682, p. 68.

The barons are said to have carried the "umbraculum" at the coronation of king Richard the first: Matthew Paris speaks of them at the coronation of Henry the third: "Custodibus vero quinque portuum, pallam super regem cum quatuor hastis supportantibus; quod tamen tunc scrupulo contentionis penitus non carebat." *Hist. Angl.* p. 355. Whence we may conclude that they then proved their right. I shall only quote further from Holinshed's chronicle, in the account of the coronation of Henry the eighth and Katherine of Aragon: "this noble prince with his queene at time convenient, under their canopies borne by the barons of the five ports, went from the said palace to Westminster abbaie upon cloth, called vulgarly cloth of raie; the which cloth was cut and spoiled by the rude and common people, immediately after their repaire into the abbaie." vol. 3. p. 801.

Henry de Knyghton states that the privileges of the cinque-ports were first granted to them by king John on condition of their providing at all times, upon reasonable notice, ships for him to pass over into Normandy or elsewhere: "Causa cujus dotationis adhuc clamant liberiores esse præ cæteris portubus omnibus regni Angliæ." *Chronica, hist. Angl. script.* tom. 2. col. 2424.

[70] "Stragulatus pannus; diverso colore variatus. Chart. an. 3 Henr. VI. reg. Angl. apud Madox in *Form. Anglic.* p. 145. *Et prædictus Ricardus habebit . . pannum stragulatum continentem xx rayes*," &c. "Stragulum, vestis discolor plumario opere facta." Ducange, *glossarium*.

This, in short, was the "cloth of raie" of Holinshed, in the

pedibus regis et reginæ, incedentium ab aula vel camera sua usque in pulpitum,[71] *sterni faciat qui habet officium eleemosynariæ regiæ et regum et reginarum coronationibus ab antiquo. Pars autem panni illius quæ est in ecclesia semper cedet in usus sacristæ loci, et reliqua pars tota extra ecclesiam distribuetur pauperibus per manus dicti eleemosynarii.*

Hiis sic ordinatis et dispositis, regem et reginam processionaliter in ecclesiam ducant: ad cujus ecclesiæ introitum, ab archiepiscopo vel episcopo reginam coronaturo, dicetur super eandem reginam hæc oratio:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, fons et origo totius bonitatis, qui feminei sexus fragilitatem nequaquam reprobando avertis, sed dignanter comprobando potius eligis, et qui infirma mundi eligendo fortia quæque confundere decrevisti, quique in gloriæ virtutisque tuæ triumphum in manu Judith feminæ olim Judaicæ plebi de hoste sævissimo designare voluisti, respice quæsumus ad preces humilitatis nostræ, et super hanc famulam tuam, quam supplici devotione in reginam eligimus, bene✠dictionum tuarum dona multiplica, eamque dextera tuæ pietatis semper et ubique circumda, sitque umbone tui muneris undique firmiter protecta, quatenus visibilis hostis nequitias triumphaliter expugnare valeat, et una cum Sara atque Rebecca, Lya, Rachele, beatisque reverendis feminabus, fructu uteri sui fœcundari seu gratulari mereatur, ad decorem totius regni, statumque sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ regendum, per Christum Dominum nostrum, qui ex intemeratæ

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place cited in the preceding note.

[71] "Infra ecclesiam Westm." *Liber regalis.*

Mariæ beatæ virginis alvo nasci, et visitare et renovare hunc dignatus est mundum, qui tecum vivit et gloriatur Deus, in unitate Spiritus sancti, per immortalia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Oratione finita, procedet regina[72] *ut primitus incedebat, processionaliter, per medium chori usque ad gradus magni altaris, prædictis duobus episcopis ipsam interim sustentantibus; quæ cum ad gradus magni altaris pervenerit, prosternet se super tapeta*

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[72] "Oratione hac finita, procedent rex et regina, ut primitus incedebant, processionaliter per medium chori, usque in pulpitum, quo cum ascenderint residebit rex, regalibus amictus, in sede regali sibi præparata. Regina vero procedet ad gradus magni altaris," &c. *Lib. regalis.* As it has been observed in the preliminary dissertation, this MS. supposes, throughout the office, the presence of the king.

The imperfect Harleian MS. 561, before referred to (see note 1), has here a long rubric:—

"Oratione completa, procedant rex et regina per ecclesiam modo quo supra dictum est, usque ad pulpitum et ad solia eis præparata, ac rege pro sua sancta unctione et coronatione usque ad altare descendente, præfata regina dictis proceribus cum sceptro, virga, et corona ipsam præcedentibus, præfatis episcopis illam, ut prædictum est, hinc inde sustentantibus, usque ad dictum altare regem subsequetur. Cui faldistorium a parte sinistra dicti altaris erit præparatum, in quo ipsa residebit dum de legibus et regni consuetudinibus et aliis, ut supra dictum est, per metropolitanum sive episcopum dictos regem et reginam consecraturum fuerit requisitum: dictis requisitionibus actis, sacramentoque, ut supra dictum est, super altare præstito, regina genuflectet, pro rege domino suo et pro seipsa humiles Deo fundens preces, incipiente metropolitano, vel episcopo, hymnum: 'Veni creator Spiritus,' cum nota. Rege itaque inuncto et coronato, atque coronationis suæ solemniis celebratis modo et forma quibus prædictum est, in solio suo residente, regina procedet ad gradus magni altaris, et prosternet se super tapetum et quissinos prius per regios ministros, modo quo prædictum est, et honeste, præparatos: super quam ita solo prostratam dicetur a metropolitano sive episcopo ipsam consecraturo orationem sequentem. [*sic.*] 'Deus qui solus.'"

et quissinos, prius ibidem per regios ministros honeste præparatos, archiepiscopo vel episcopo incipiente:[73]

Ps. Veni creator Spiritus.

Deinde super ipsam ita prostratam, dicatur hæc oratio:

Deus, qui solus habes immortalitatem, lucemque inhabitas inaccessibilem, cujus providentia in sui dispositione non fallitur, qui fecisti quæ futura sunt, et vocas ea quæ non sunt tanquam ea quæ sunt, qui superbos æquo moderamine de principatu dejicis, atque humiles dignanter in sublime provehis, ineffabilem misericordiam tuam supplices exoramus, ut sicut reginam Hester, causa Judaicæ salutis, de captivitatis suæ compede solutam, ad regis Assueri thalamum regnique sui consortium transire fecisti, ita hanc famulam tuam *.N.* humilitatis nostræ bene✠dictione Christianæ plebis gratia salutis, ad dignam sublimemque regis nostri copulam misericorditer transire concedas, ut in regalis fœdere conjugii semper manens pudica, proximam virginitati palmam continere queat, tibique, Deo vivo et vero, in omnibus et super omnia jugiter placere desideret, et, te inspirante, quæ tibi placita sunt toto corde perficiat: per Dominum.

Terminata autem[74] *hac oratione, eriget se regina*

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[73] The order of king Edward the second and the Exeter pontifical omit the ps. Veni creator, and the first thus continues after the prayer "Omnipotens:" "*Item alia benedictio ejusdem, coram optimatibus, ante altare dicenda:* Dominus vobiscum. *Oratio.* Deus qui solus habes. *Hic effundatur oleum sanctum super verticem ejus in modum crucis, dicente episcopo:* In nomine Patris, &c. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus affluentem." The Exeter MS. also mentions only the anointing of the head. The Bodley MS. Rawl. C. 425 reads "effundetur sanctum chrisma."

[74] The Evesham pontifical has here an additional prayer:—

et genuflectet; super cujus verticem effundetur sanctum oleum[75] *in modum crucis. Postea de eodem oleo ungetur in pectore, modo consimili, in modum crucis; ad utramque unctionem tam capitis quam pectoris, dicetur a pontifice consecrante:*

In nomine Patris✠, et Filii✠, et Spiritus✠Sancti, prosit tibi hæc unctio olei in honorem et confirmationem æternam, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Circulo quem in capite gestaverat prius deposito.

Tunc subjungetur oratio sequens:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, affluentem spiritum tuæ bene✠dictionis super famulam tuam, nobis orantibus, propitiatus infunde, ut quæ per manus nostræ impositionem hodie regina instituitur, sanctificatione tua digna et electa permaneat, ut nunquam postmodum de tua gratia separetur indigna. Per.

Hoc proviso,[76] *quod tunica reginæ sic fiat quod per consecrantem, ante sanctam pectoris unctionem, facile possit aperiri, et a nobiliori domina, quæ dictæ reginæ semper adhærebit, post dictam unctionem recludi:*

"*Item post hanc in sacri olei unctione sequitur hæc oratio:*

"Spiritus sancti gratia, humilitatis nostræ officio, in te copiosa descendat, ut sicut manibus nostris indignis oleo materiali oblita pinguescis exterius, ita ejus invisibili unguine delibuta inpinguari merearis interius, ejusque spiritali unctione perfectissime semper imbuta, et illicita declinare tota mente, et spernere discas seu valeas, et utilia animæ tuæ jugiter cogitare, optare, atque operari queas, auxiliante Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Qui cum Deo Patre, &c.

"*Hic unguatur oleo sancto.* In nomine Patris, &c. *Oratio.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, affluentem" &c.

[75] ". . . in modum crucis: dicente episcopo." *Lib. regalis.*

[76] From hence to "Accipe annulum" is omitted in the *Liber regalis,* in the order for the coronation of a queen alone: but in the office which precedes, viz. of a king and queen, the whole occurs as in the text.

deinde detur ei annulus a consecrante, dicente sic, si prius fuerit benedictus: sin autem, benedicatur modo subscripto sic:

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Creator, et conservator humani generis, dator gratiæ spiritualis, largitor æternæ salutis, tu, Domine, mitte benedictionem tuam sanctam super hunc annulum, ut quæ illum gestaverit sit armata virtute cœlestis defensionis, et perficiat illi ad æternam salutem. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Oratio.

Bene✠dic, Domine, hunc annulum, quem nos in tuo sancto nomine bene✠dicimus, ut quæcunque eum portaverit in tua pace consistat, et in tua voluntate permaneat, et in amore tuo vivat et senescat, et multiplicetur in longitudinem dierum: per Christum.

Tunc aspergatur annulus aqua benedicta, et detur ab episcopo reginæ, sic dicente:

Accipe annulum fidei, signaculum sinceritatis,[77] quo possis omnes hæreticas pravitates devitare, et barbaras gentes virtute Dei premere, et ad agnitionem veritatis advocare.

Deinde sequatur oratio.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Deus cujus est omnis potestas.

Ut supra in coronatione regis.

Postea benedicetur corona ab eodem præsule, dicente:

Deus tuorum corona.

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[77] "Signaculum sanctæ Trinitatis." Order of king Ethelred.

Ut supra in coronatione regis.

Deinde imponatur corona capiti reginæ ab eodem episcopo, dicente:

Accipe coronam gloriæ, honorem jocunditatis, ut splendida fulgeas et æterna exultatione coroneris.

Primitus pileo lineo capiti reginæ apposito, ob sanctæ unctionis conservationem, quod postea comburetur.

Tunc subinferet episcopus. Oratio.

Officio nostræ indignitatis [78] in reginam solemniter benedicta, accipe coronam regalis excellentiæ, quæ licet ab indignis, episcopalibus tamen manibus capiti tuo imponitur: unde sicut exterius auro et gemmis redimita enites, ita et interius auro sapientiæ, virtutumque gemmis decorari contendas, quatenus post occasum hujus sæculi cum prudentibus virginibus sponso perenni Domino nostro Jesu Christo digne et laudabiliter occurrens, regiam cœlestis aulæ merearis ingredi januam, auxiliante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui cum Deo Patre, et Spiritu sancto, vivit et regnat per infinita sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Et tradendo ei sceptrum in dextra, et virgam in sinistra, dicat hanc orationem sequentem:

Omnium, Domine, fons bonorum, et cunctorum dator profectuum, tribue famulæ tuæ .*N*. adeptam bene regere dignitatem, et a te sibi præstitam bonis operibus corroborare gloriam : per Dominum.

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[78] The pontifical reads "dignitatis:" but I have introduced "indignitatis" into the text, upon the authority of the royal MS. 12. D. iij, the *Lib. regalis*, the order for king Edward the second, and the early manuscript, Cotton, Tiberius B. viij.

The prayer occurs in the office for the coronation of a queen in the old *Ordo Romanus;* which reads also "indignitatis."

Coronata autem regina,[79] *sceptrumque in dextra ferens, a duobus prædictis episcopis honorifice ducetur ad solium sibi ex parte regis sinistra præparatum,*[80] *choro interim cantante hunc hymnum:*

Te Deum laudamus.

Statim hymno finito, incipiatur officium missæ, et post officium ejusdem missæ[81] *procedet regina coronata ad offerendum.*

Deinde ad sedem suam revertetur, ibique continue usque ad finem missæ residebit.[82]

Completa tandem missa et omnibus rite peractis, præfati duo episcopi, unus a dextris, alius a sinistris, reducent reginam coronatam et sceptrum in manu dextra ferentem, ab ecclesia usque in thalamum sive aulam, præcedente processione, si commode fieri poterit.

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[79] "Finit consecratio reginæ," order of king Edward the second. "Explicit consecratio reginæ," Royal MS. 12. D. iij.

The Exeter pontifical adds, "*Tunc detur ei sceptrum dicendo:*

Accipe virgam virtutis et æquitatis, et esto pauperibus misericors et affabilis; viduis, pupillis, et orphanis diligentissimam curam exhibe, ut omnipotens Deus adaugeat tibi gloriam suam, qui vivit," &c.

With which the office in that manuscript concludes.

[80] "*Regina vero ad prædictum solium veniens, ante ejus ascensum modicum regi inclinabit, ejus majestatem ut decet adorando. Choro interim hunc hymnum,* Te Deum laudamus: *solemniter concinnente. Statim,*" &c. *Liber regalis.*

[81] "*Post offertorium ejusdem missæ.*" *Ibid.*

[82] The Cotton manuscript Titus A. xvij. has an illumination of the coronation of Claude, daughter of Louis the twelfth and queen of Francis the first. She is represented sitting on her throne, with an attendant lady behind who supports the crown. Mass is being said before her, and three bishops are kneeling at one side of the altar.

Appendix to the Order of coronation.

I. First rubric of the Liber regalis.

II. The order of coronation according to the pontificals of Egbert, archbishop of York, A.D. 740, and of Leofric, bishop of Exeter, A.D. 1060.

III. A Litany sung at the coronation of Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror.

IV. The Order of the coronation of her majesty, queen Victoria.

V. The Order of the coronation of her majesty queen Adelaide, as queen-consort.

Officia in Coronationem

R. Richardi II. M.CCCLXXVII.[1]

HIC est ordo, secundum quem rex debet coronari pariter et inungi.

In primis præparetur pulpitum, aliquantulum eminens, inter magnum altare et chorum ecclesiæ beati Petri Westmonasterii, videlicet contiguum ex omni parte quatuor columnis principalioribus, infra crucem ecclesiæ prælibatæ; ad cujus quidem pulpiti ascensum fiant gradus de medio chori a parte occidentali, per quos princeps coronandus, in adventu suo transiens per chori medium, dictum pulpitum possit ascendere: ac etiam fiant alii gradus a parte orientali, per quos princeps præfatus descendere possit versus majus altare, ibidem ante gradus dicti altaris sacrosanctæ unctionis ac suæ coronationis solemnia a metropolitano, sive episcopo ipsum consecrando, debita cum devotione accepturus.

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[1] This first appendix is the first rubric of the *Liber regalis.* In the library of the dean and canons of Westminster there is a noble manuscript missal of a large size and richly illuminated, probably the most beautiful copy of English use now extant. This was given to the church of Westminster by abbot Litlington about the year 1370. It contains several royal services. Among them is that of the coronation: which in almost every respect agrees with the *Liber regalis,* and especially in having this long rubric at the commencement. But it has not the title "Officia," &c., beginning simply with the usual formula "Hic est ordo secundum quem," &c.

The Lansdown MS. 278 is a modern and apparently a correct transcript of the *Liber regalis* written in the seventeenth century.

In medio vero dicti pulpiti erit præparatus thronus excelsus, ut in eo princeps residens clare ab omnibus possit intueri.

Ungere enim et coronare reges Angliæ atque reginas, ex antiqua consuetudine et hactenus usitata, principaliter competit archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, si præsens fuerit, et si compos extiterit. Et si contigerit quod propter corporis debilitatem, aut infirmitatem, illud officium non poterit in sua persona rite peragere, aut forte aliqua tunc causa impeditus in hujusmodi coronatione non queat præsentialiter interesse, hujusmodi unctionis ac coronationis solemnia supplebit alius, qui inter episcopos tunc præsentes dignior reperiatur, aut cui dictus metropolitanus dictum officium velit committere.

Rex autem præcedenti die coronationis suæ, de turri Londonensi per mediam civitatem versus palatium regium West. in cultu decentissimo equitabit, plebi occurrenti se offerens intuendum, capite denudato.

Et prævideatur semper quod coronatio tam regis quam reginæ fiat in die dominico vel in festo aliquo solemni.[2]

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[2] The "dies dominica" is the day which is specified for this high solemnity in most of the ancient pontificals: and on that day we know that many sovereigns were crowned. Thus, in the year 816, Baronius says of pope Stephen V, "Die dominica in ecclesia S. Petri, coram clero et omni populo, ante missarum solemnia consecravit et unxit Ludovicum ipsum imperatorem, et coronam .... posuit super caput ejus." And Henry of Germany was crowned in the year 1014 upon the sunday.

There are very early examples also of coronations upon festivals: Charlemagne was crowned upon Christmas-day, A.D. 801: and, as Hoveden tells us, king Stephen of England was crowned upon St. Stephen's day, and, not to name others, Henry the first

Memoratus vero princeps nocte præcedente coronationis suæ diem vacabit contemplationi divinæ et orationi intimæ,[3] considerans ad quem apicem sit vocatus, qualiter is per quem reges regnant ad populi sui ac plebis christianæ gubernationem ipsum specialius præelegit. Et cogitet illud sapientis: "Principem te constituerunt, noli extolli sed esto in illis quasi unus ex illis." Et cogitet dignitatem regalem sibi a Deo præstitam, tanquam homini mortali, et ipsum idcirco ad tantam sublimitatem vocatum a Deo, ut ecclesiæ catholicæ sit defensor, fidei Christianæ dilatator, ac regni sui, et patriæ sibi a Deo commissæ, secundum vires protector. In oratione autem Salamonis imitetur prudentiam, cui in sui regno primordio pro cultu creatoris ab ipso Creatore præceptum est, ut ea peteret quæ sibi vellet conferri. Qui non aurum, non argentum, neque divitias, nec de inimicis victoriam, ut homo

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upon the feast of the assumption: "consecratus est in regem apud Westmonasterium in die assumptionis b. Mariæ."

[3] The Roman pontifical directs: "*Rex triduanum jejunium devote peragit per hebdomadam præcedentem, videlicet quarta, et sexta feria, et sabbato.*" Upon this Catalani remarks: "Fateor, de hoc ritu nihil me invenisse apud antiquos scriptores: conveniens tamen esse videtur, ut rex ad sui inaugurationem non modo per religiosa jejunia se præparet, sed etiam per alia pia opera. Unde ex MS. pontificali insignis ecclesiæ Senonensis, debet rex sabbato præcedente diem dominicam, in qua est consecrandus, *intempestæ noctis silentio venire in ecclesiam orationem facturus, et ibidem in oratione aliquantulum, si voluerit, vigilaturus.*" *Comment. in pontif.* tom. 1. p. 372. The learned commentator would have found it more than difficult to find such a rule in the "ancient writers" upon old English coronations. The practice of our early sovereigns was to be crowned, if possible, within a very few days after the demise of their predecessor. Coronations involved the necessary observance of popular election.

juvenis, sibi dari deprecatus est. Sed magis ea postulavit quæ et Deus gratis præberet, et utiliter homo perciperet. "Redde mihi," inquit, "Domine, mentem sanam et prudentiam bonam, ut circa populum justum possim verumque proferre judicium." Deprecetur igitur princeps ut divinitatis providentia, quæ ipsum ad tanti regimen ordinavit imperii, sibi largiri dignetur justitiam, pietatem, et prudentiam. Justitiam circa subjectos, pietatem circa Deum, et prudentiam circa regni gubernationem, quatenus nullo favore mollitus, nullis inimicitiis commotus, nulla concupiscentia illectus, nullaque alia passione constrictus, in semitis harum virtutum inoffenso pede valeat pertransire.

Et quia oportet principem antedictum de hiis et aliis observantiis, quæ ad dictam spectant coronationem, plenius informari, abbas Westm. qui pro tempore fuerit, in hiis et consimilibus principis erit eruditor, ad ipsum vero hoc officium solummodo spectat. Et si dictus abbas de medio fuerit sublatus, et alius in abbatem ejusdem loci nondum fuerit confirmatus, qui dictum officium rite non poterit adimplere, aut dictus abbas aliunde fuerit impeditus quominus illud officium valeat exequi, tunc eligatur unus ex assensu prioris et conventus dicti monasterii, qui per omnia sit idoneus, dictum principem in hujusmodi observantiis informare, secundum modum et consuetudinem ab antiquissimis temporibus hactenus usitatum.[4]

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[4] "*The abbot of Westmynster shall enforme the kynge.* Also it is to wit that the abbot of Westmynster, which is for the tyme, two dayes othir before the coronacyon shall enform them of dyuers observaunces that they shall doo and kepe in their coronacion, and warne them to shryue and to clense theire conscience

Die vero præfinito, quo novus rex consecrandus est, summo mane conveniant prælati et nobiles in palatio regio apud Westm. tractaturi de novi regis consecratione, et electione, et de legibus et consuetudinibus regni confirmandis, firmiter statuendis.

Hiis sub universorum concordia peractis, provideatur quod in aula regia majori sedes eminens sit, pannis sericis et inauratis decenter ornata, super quam dictus rex regnaturus cum omni mansuetudine et reverentia elevetur, ipso tamen prius ut moris est balneato et induto mundissimis vestibus, et caligis tantummodo calciato.[5]

Hoc modis omnibus observato, quod sicut in principe per actualem lotionem et vestimentorum decorem corpus nitescit, sic per veram et præviam

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before the hooly anoynting." Lansdown MS. 258.

"The abbote of Westm. ought alwey to be nere the kyng for his informacion in such thyngs as concerneth the solempnitee of the coronacion." *Devyse* for Henry the eighth.

[5] Hence we learn the proper meaning of the term "barefooted" in the old chronicles, when applied to this royal procession; which has been much mistaken by various writers. Thus, for example, in a modern popular and rather superficial book, Knight's *London*, we are told of Richard the third's coronation that "perhaps the most striking feature of the event, is Richard's exhibition of humility, —he actually walked *barefoot* into the abbey;" vol. 4. p. 91. No authority is given for this statement, but it is to be traced to Grafton: who says, "from thence the king and the queene goyng vpon raye cloth barefooted," &c.; vol. 2. p. 115. But the meaning both of Grafton and of the rubric in the text is, that the king was not to wear sandals, or soles, but buskins only. Prynne, in his *Signal loyalty*, has printed a "Forma coronationis regum et reginarum Angliæ" said to have been extracted from the *Liber regalis*, but whether by himself or not does not appear: it certainly differs from it. However, one sentence explains the meaning of "barefoot." "Item dicto die princeps coronandus . . . tantummodo caligis sine sotularibus calcietur;" p. 242.

confessionem ac compunctionis dolorem anima ipsa splendescat.

Hiis debite peractis, ordinetur in ecclesia per archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbatem, et conventum Westm. processio in capis sericis, cum textibus,[6] et thuribulis, et aliis quæ processioni conveniunt; et sic induti processionaliter occurrant in palatio antedicto.[7] Etenim regni prælatis et conventui Westm. solum pertinet regi futuro cum processionis solempnitate occurrere, et ipsum in ecclesiam prædictam psallendo antecedere, ea decantantes quæ in receptione regum debent decantari. Et faciet dominus .*N*. de Bellocampo Bedefordiæ, qui ab antiquo eleemosynariæ regiæ habet officium, pannum virgulatum[8] sive burellum, prosterni sub pedibus regis incedentis a palatio usque pulpitum antedictum infra ecclesiam Westm., ut prætactum est, præparatum.

Quod quidem pulpitum una cum gradibus, ex utraque parte ejusdem existentibus, tapetis[9] per

[6] See above, p. 4, note 1.

[7] In the letter of archbishop Cranmer (mentioned above in the dissertation) giving an account of the coronation of Anne Boleyn, is the following: "In the mornynge ther assymbled withe me at Westminster churche the bysshop of Yorke, &c., the abbote of Westminstre with x or xij moo abbottes, whiche all revestred ourselfs in our pontificalibus, and, soo furnysshed, with our crosses and crossiers, procedid oute of th' abbey in a procession vnto Westminstre hall, where we receyved the queene," &c. *Archæologia*, vol. 18. p. 80.

[8] See above, note 70, p. 55. I may here add the following: "The prynce shall follow the procession into the chirche. And he shall go vpon newe ray cloth laide vnder his fete." Lansdown MS. 285.

"The way from thense [*the hall*] to the pulpytt in Westm. chirche arrayed vnder foote with raye cloth by the king's grete awmoner of England, to be had of the king's greate warderobe." *Devyse* for Henry VIII.

[9] The Lansdown MS. 285

regios ministros ad hoc præparatis sterni debet per totum. In circuitu vero summitatis pulpiti dependentur panni serici et inaurati. Thronus vero in quo rex ipse residere debet, de quo prætactum est, palliis sericis ac pretiosissimis prædicti regis camerarios[10] per totum erit coopertus, quissinis etiam per nominatos camerarios in præfato throno repositis.

Pars autem panni illius virgulati, sive burelli, quæ per dictum eleemosynarium, ut præfatum est, sub pedibus regis incedentis extenditur infra ecclesiam, cedet semper in usus sacristæ loci, et reliqua pars tota quæ est extra ecclesiam distribuetur pauperibus per manus eleemosynarii supradicti.

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contains "The maner and forme of the kyngis and quenes coronacion in Englonde." I shall have occasion to cite this again, and shall refer to it, as before, by its number in the catalogue. Upon "*the pulpite*" it directs :—

"Also in Westmynster chirche must be ordeynde a pulpit with grees on euery side. And that must be faire araide with clothes of silke, of golde, and aboute on the grounde both. *The Kynges Trone.* Also in that pulpit shall be a roiall trone. And a roiall see in the which the kyng shall sit. And it shall also bee roially araide with quysshyns, and clothes of gold and silke."

The *Devyse* for king Henry the eighth states: "The pulpit is to be couered with rede worsted. In the middes wherin must be two sieges royall" [for himself and queen Katherine] "with cloth of golde and quysshyns of the same. Save it is to wite, that the king's siege shall be made a good deal higher than the quenes, whiche shall be on the lyfte hande of the kyngis, and lower than it."

A very ancient, if not contemporary, English account of the coronation of Henry the sixth also speaks of the pulpit to be covered in the same way, with red cloth. "And than he was leyde upon the high scaffolde; and that was couered all with red say, betwen the high autere and the quere." MS. Cotton, Nero C. ix. fol. 172.

[10] "per dicti regis camerarios." *Abbot Litlington's missal.*

Regem igitur coronandum, dictis prælatis ac monachis præcedentibus, episcopus Dunelm. videlicet et Bathon. ex antiqua consuetudine, si præsentes affuerint, dictum regem hinc inde sustentabunt. Cancellarius vero, si fuerit episcopus,[11] tum calice lapideo sancti Edwardi, qui est de regalibus,[12] pontificalibus indutus regem immediate est præcessurus. Quem cum patena thesaurarius, si episcopus fuerit, vel abbas, modo consimili pro more antecedat, pontificaliter indutus, dictamque patenam honorifice eo-

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[11] The order respecting this, in the *Devyse* for Henry the eighth, furnishes a curious specimen of confusion of language: "Next before the king the bishop chaunceler of England, then being William Warham bishop of Canterbury, yf he be a bishop, shall bere the chales. And in case he be noo bisshop, some other bisshop to be appoynted to bere the patente."

This would indeed be puzzling, if we had not the exposition of our text; which is borne out by the following:—

"*The beryng of seynt Edwardis chalis.* Also the caunceller of Englond, yf he be a bisshop, in his pontificall aray, shall bere before the kyng in his procession the seide chalys, for a grete rialtee and solempnitee.

"*The beryng of the paten.* Also the tresourer of Englonde, yif he bee a bisshop, in the pontificall aray, shall bere the patene before the kyng in procession, and hee shall goo before the chaunceller." Lansdown MS. 285.

I believe that the first lay chancellor of England was Sir Robert Bourchier, in 1340, in the reign of Edward the third, who afterwards appointed one or two others. About the year 1371 a parliamentary petition was presented to the king against the holding of high secular offices by the clergy: especially naming the chancellor and the treasurer. But shortly afterwards, great ecclesiastics were again appointed, and so the practice continued until the promotion of Sir Thomas More in 1530.

[12] "The grete solempne chales of seynt Edward, the which chales by seynte Edwardis dayes was preyesed xxxMl. marc." *Account of coron. of Hen. VI.*

"The abbot of Westm. shall mynister to hym the wyne of a stone chalys of the regalies." Lansdown MS. 285.

dem modo tenebit, quo patena a subdiacono inter secreta missæ ante altare in altum teneri solet.[13] Si vero contigerit dictos cancellarium et thesaurarium episcopos non esse, alii per regem assignentur episcopi, qui modo prædicto pontificaliter induti, cum dictis calice et patena regem in dicta processione, modo prædicto, antecedant. Et modo conformi assignentur duo alii episcopi, qui regem sustentent, si dicti episcopi Dunelmensis et Bathonensis non fuerint tunc præsentes.

Post hos vero qui dictos calicem et patenam gerunt duo duces sive comites regni excellentiores, et maxime qui jure propinquitatis stirpi regiæ proximius videntur pertinere, immediate subsequentur, quorum unus sceptrum regium, in cujus summitate crux parva collocatur, portabit, alter vero eorum virgam auream, habentem in summitate columbam. Quæ quidem, calicem, patenam, sceptrum, et virgam, tradet abbas Westm. vel prior, si abbas non fuerit, dictis dominis infra palatium antedictum. Qui domini illa omnia in processione gestabunt, modo quo præostensum est.

Deinde sequentur tres comites gladios gestantes induti serico, comes quidem Cestriæ, qui pri-

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[13] I must refer the reader to a note in my book on the Ancient liturgy in the ordinary of the mass, at the prayer "Offerimus." From the reference in the text above it would seem that, at least in the church of Westminster, the custom of the subdeacon to receive and hold the paten was then observed in England. Among the ornaments and furniture given by abbot Godfrey to his church at Peterborough, A.D. 1316, were "magno altari quinque velamina de albo serico cum aurifrigio ornata, pro patenario in principalibus festis patenam deportandam." Walter de Whytleseye, *Cœnobii Burgensis hist.* p. 169.

matum vendicat deferendi, portabit gladium qui vocatur curtana. Et alium portabit comes Huntyngtoun. Tertium vero portabit comes Warwyk. Hos præcedet unus de magnatibus, ad hoc per regem assignatus, portans calcaria magna et deaurata.

Pannum de serico quadratum purpureum, quatuor hastis deargentatis sustentatum, cum quatuor campanellis argenteis et deauratis, ultra regem quocunque ierit, gestabunt barones de quinque portubus, ad quamlibet hastam quatuor assignati pro diversitate portuum, ne videatur portus portui præferri. Et similiter ab eisdem baronibus portabitur pannus de serico, ultra reginam post regem incedentem, si ipsa die debeat coronari. Quos pannos iidem barones de jure consuetudinis obtinebunt, sed hastæ cum campanellis debentur ecclesiæ Westm.: ac pulpitum, et omnia tapeta infra eundem, una cum pannis sericis et quissinis ibi, ut prædictum est, per ministros regis collocata, remanebunt penes ecclesiam, in qua dictus rex coronatur, ex jure antiquo et consuetudine.

Hiis omnibus, in quo[14] latius prætactum est, quæ processioni conveniunt rite ordinatis, episcopi et alii prælati, una cum regni proceribus et prædicto conventu Westm., præfatum regem coronandum a palatio suo Westm. in ecclesiam beati Petri Westm. ducant; ipsoque introducto per medium chori, atque in pulpito in sede sibi apta collocato, metropolitanus sive episcopus regem coronaturus, per quatuor partes dicti pulpiti plebem alloquatur, ipsorum inquirens voluntatem et consensum de dicti principis conse-

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[14] "modo quo," *Litlington's missal.*

cratione; rege interim in sede sua stante, atque ad quatuor partes dicti pulpiti, dum pontifex plebem alloquitur, se vertente;[15] quibus ut moris est con-

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[15] "*The archebisshope shall aske the will of the people.* Also when the prynce hath rested hym a litel in his chaire, othir [*or*] throne ordeynde in the seide pulpit, that the archebisshop of Canterbury at iiij parties of the pulpit, with an high voice, shall enquere the will of the people, as touchyng the kynges coronacion. And that while shal the prynce stonde in his trone or chaier, and turne hym also to the parties of the people. And aftir that questyon shall an anteme be soong of *Firmetur manus.*" Lansdown MS. 285.

"And he was set in his astate in the myddes of the scaffold, there beholdynge the people all abowte sadly and wysely.* Than made the erchbishop of Caunterbery a proclamation on the iiij quarters of the scaffold, seyeing in this wyse: Sirs, heere comyth Henry, kyng Henrye's sone the Vth, on whos sowle God haue mercy. Amen. He homblyth hym to God and to holy cherche, askyng the crowne of this reame by right and defence of herytage: if ye hold ye pays (?) with hym say, yea, and holde vp handes. And than all the people cried with oon voyce, ye, ye." *Account of coron. of Henry VI.*

"This done, the cardynall as archbisshop of Caunterbury, shewing the king to the people at the iiij parties of the seid pulpyt, shall seye in this wyse. Sirs, here present Henry, rightfull and vndoubted enheritour by the lawes of God and man, to the coroune and royall dignite of England, with all things therunto annexed and apperteyning: electe, chosen, and required by all the thre estates of this lande, to take vppon hym the seid coroune and royall dignitie. Whervppon ye shall vnderstonde, that this daye is prefixed and appoynted by all the pyers of the lande, for the consecration, envnction, and coronacion of the seid moost excellent prince Henry. Woll ye serue at this tyme, and geve your wills and assents to the same consecration, envnction, and coronacion? Wherunto the people shall say with a grete voyce: Ye, ye, ye. So be it, Kyng Henry. King Henry." *Devyse* for Henry the eighth.

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* Henry the sixth was not ten years old. For the meaning of "sad" in this place, see vol. 3. p. 32. note 85.

sentientibus, atque voce magna et unanimi proclamantibus "fiat fiat" et "vivat Rex," nomen dicti regis gratissime nominantes, tunc a choro decantetur hæc antiphona. "Firmetur manus tua et exaltetur dextera tua," &c.

Missa pro regibus in die Benedictionis.[1]

ANT. *Justus es, Domine, et rectum.*
Psal. Beati immaculati.

Deus regnorum omnium et Christiani maxime protector imperii, da servo tuo, regi nostro

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[1] This coronation service is probably not only the most ancient of English use, but the most ancient in the world. It is extant in the pontifical of archbishop Egbert, and now reprinted from the collection by Martene, in his great work, *De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus:* tom. 2. p. 214. In the notes will be given a sufficiently complete collation of the coronation service, as it is in the famous (so-called) Leofric missal, preserved in the Bodleian library. So that I believe I may now venture to assure the student that he has before him in this volume a series, not to be equalled by the collections of any other country, of the orders of coronation. They extend over a period of more than eleven hundred years. By means of the present appendix, giving the earliest and the latest forms, he will be able to discover the changes which took place previous to the coronation of Ethelred; he will observe that even after that time, according to the use of some churches in England, the new form had not been adopted, or, to speak perhaps more correctly, had not been authorised or approved; and he will trace its gradual approach to the finished order of the *Liber regalis*, through the intermediate stages of its growth in the respective ages of the Winchester and Exeter pontificals.

The above stands as it was written for the first edition of this book in 1847. Since that time we are indebted to the Surtees society for an edition of the Egbert pontifical from the manuscript preserved in the public library at Paris. This manuscript is about two hundred years later than Egbert's time; and is probably a transcript of an earlier copy from the original. The variations be-

N. triumphum virtutis suæ scienter excolere, ut cujus constitutione sunt principes, ejus semper munere sint potestates.

Lectio libri Levitici.

Hæc dicit Dominus Deus: dabo pacem in finibus vestris; dormietis et non est qui exterreat; auferam malas bestias, et gladius non transibit terminos vestros: persequemini inimicos vestros, et corruent coram vobis; et persequentur quinque de vestris centum alienos, et centum ex vobis decem millia; cadentque inimici vestri in conspectu vestro gladio; respiciam vos, et crescere faciam, et multiplicabimini, et firmabo pactum meum vobiscum, dicit Dominus omnipotens.

Grad. Salvum fac servum tuum.

Vers. Auribus percipe, Domine.

Alleluja.

Magnus Dominus. *Vel.* Domine in virtute tua.

Sequentia s. evangelii secundum Matthæum.

In illo tempore. Abeuntes Pharisæi consilium.

Benedictio super regem noviter electum:[2]

Te invocamus, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, &c., *ut supra*, p. 12.

Alia:

Deus qui populis tuis, *ut supra*, p. 17.

Alia:

In diebus ejus oriatur omnibus æquitas,[3] &c.

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tween the Surtees edition and that in the text are too slight and unimportant to require notice.

[2] Here the order in the Leofric MS. begins: omitting the preceding collect, gradual, &c. which belonged to the service of the eucharist. The first rubric is, "*Benedictiones super regem noviter electum.* Te invocamus," &c.

[3] Martene refers for this prayer to an ancient French order of coronation: I give it now from the Leofric MS.:—

"In diebus ejus oriatur omni-

Hic verget oleum cum cornu super caput ipsius cum antiphona: Unxerunt Salomonem, *et psal.* Domine in virtute tua. *Unus ex pontificibus dicat orationem et alii unguant.*[4]

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bus æquitas et justitia, amicis adjutorium, inimicis obstaculum, humilibus solatium, elevatis correptio, divitibus doctrina, pauperibus pietas, peregrinis auxilium, propriis in patria pax et securitas, unicuique secundum mensuram suam moderate gubernans se ipsum sedulus discat, ut tua irrigatus compunctione toto populo tibi placita præbere vitæ possit exempla, et per viam veritatis cum grege sibi subdito gradiens, opes fragiles abundanter acquirat, simul et salutem non solum corporum sed etiam cordium a te concessam cunctis accipiat. Sicque in te cogitatum animi consiliumque omne componens, plebis gubernacula cum pace simul et sapientia semper invenire videatur, teque auxiliante præsentis vitæ prolixitatem percipiat, et per tempora bona usque ad summam senectutem perveniat, hujusque fragilitatis finem perfectum, ab omnibus vitiorum vinculis tuæ pietatis largitate liberatus, et infinitæ prosperitatis præmia perpetua, angelorumque æterna commercia consequatur. Per."

This prayer occurs also in the benedictional or, as it should rather have been called, pontifical of archbishop Robert of Canterbury; of which an account is given in the *Archæologia*, vol. 24. p. 118. This manuscript is preserved in the public library at Rouen.

[4] The Leofric MS. omits this rubric and proceeds at once to the prayer "Deus electorum:" with the title "*Alia.*" I again transcribe this prayer from that manuscript. It has been already stated that it occurs in the form of king Ethelred, but in a part of that MS. unhappily imperfect:—

"Deus electorum fortitudo et humilium celsitudo, qui in primordio per effusionem diluvii crimina mundi castigare, et per columbam ramum olivæ portantem pacem terris redditam demonstrasti, iterumque Aaron famulum tuum per unctionem olei sacerdotem sanxisti, et postea per hujus unguenti infusionem ad regendum populum Israeliticum sacerdotes, reges, et prophetas perfecisti, vultumque ecclesiæ in oleo exhilarandum per propheticam famuli tui vocem David esse prædixisti: ita quæsumus, omnipotens Pater, ut per hujus creaturæ pinguedinem hunc servum tuum sanctificare tua benedictione digneris, eumque in similitudinem columbæ pacem simplicitatis populo sibi

Deus electorum fortitudo, &c.

Hic omnes pontifices cum principibus dant ei sceptrum in manu.[5]

Benedic, Domine, hunc præsulem principem, qui regna regum omnium a sæculo moderaris. Amen.

Et tali eum benedictione glorifica, ut Davidicum teneat sublimitatis sceptrum salutis, ut sanctificatus protinus reperiatur in merita. Da ei a tuo spiramine cum mansuetudine ita regere populum sicut Salomonem fecisti regnum obtinere pacificum. Amen.

Tibi semper cum tremore sit subditus, tibique militet, cum regno sit tuo clypeo protectus cum proceribus, et ubique maneat sine pugna victor. Amen.

Sis ei contra acies inimicorum lorica, in adversis galea, in prosperis patientia, in protectione clypeus sempiternus. Amen.

Vivat inter gentium catervas magnanimus. Sit ei in judiciis æquitas singularis. Amen.

Locupletet eum tua prædicta dextra, frugalem contineat patriam, et suis liberis tribuat profutura. Amen.

Da ei prolixitatem vitæ per tempora, et in diebus ejus oriatur justitia. Amen.

A te robustum teneat regiminis solium, ut cum jocunditate et justitia æterno glorietur in regno. Amen.

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subdito præstare, et exempla Aaron in Dei servitio diligenter imitari, regumque vestigia in consiliis scientiæ et æquitate judicii semper assequi, vultumque hilaritatis per hanc olei unctionem tuamque benedictionem, te adjuvante, commissæ plebi paratum habere facias. Per."

[5] The Leofric MS. has merely "*Benedictio.*"

Et præsta ut gentes illi teneant fidem, proceres sui habeant pacem, diligantque caritatem. Amen.

Tu ejus mentem benignus inlabere, ut amore te timeat, et timore diligat. Amen.

Tu ei honor sis, tu gaudium, tu voluntas, tu in mœrore solatium, in ambiguitate consilium, in itinere consolator. Amen.

Tu in injuriis defensor, in tribulatione patientia, in ægritudine medicina. Amen.

In te habeat omne consilium, per te tuam discat a te commissam sapientiam regni gubernacula moderari, ut semper felix, semper a te gaudens, de tuis mereatur beneficiis gratulari, et æternis valeat commerciis copulari. Amen.

Ut quem tu nobis hodie tua misericordia jocundum præsentare dignatus es, tu facias multorum curriculis annorum protectione securum. Amen.

Et ita populis iste pullulet coalitus benedictione æternitatis, ut semper maneat tripudians in pace victoriosus. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare digneris, qui cum æterno Patre simul cum Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Hic datur ei baculum in manu sua.[6]

Omnipotens det tibi Deus de rore cœli et de pinguedine abundantiam terræ, frumenti, et vini, et serviant tibi populi, et adorent te tribus; esto dominus fratrum tuorum, et incurventur ante te filii matris tuæ, et qui benedixerit tibi benedictionibus repleatur, et Deus erit adjutor tuus, et omnipotens benedicet tibi benedictionibus cœli desuper, in montibus, et in collibus, benedictionibus abyssi jacentis

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[6] In the Leofric MS. the rubric is, "*Item super regem.*"

deorsum, benedictionibus uberum, et uvarum, pomorumque; benedictiones patrum antiquorum Abraham, et Isaac, et Jacob portatæ sint[7] super te.

Hic omnes pontifices sumant galeum et ponant super caput ipsius.[8]

Benedic, Domine, fortitudinem regis principis;[9] et opera manuum illius suscipe, et benedictione tua terra ejus de pomis[10] repleatur, de fructu cœli et rore atque abyssi subjacentis, de fructu solis ac lunæ, de vertice antiquorum montium, de pompis æternorum collium, et de frugibus terræ et plenitudine ejus: benedictio illius qui apparuit in rubo veniat super caput N. et plena sit benedictio Domini in filiis ejus, et tinguat in oleo pedem suum; cornua renocerotis cornua illius, in ipsis ventilabit gentes usque ad terminos terræ, quia ascensor cœli auxiliator suus in sempiternum fiat. Per.

Et dicat omnis populus tribus vicibus cum episcopis et presbyteris; Vivat rex N. in sempiternum. *Tunc confirmabitur*[11] *cum benedictione omnis populus, et osculandum principem in sempiternum dicit.* Amen. Amen. Amen. *Tunc dicunt orationem septimam supra regem.*

Deus perpetuitatis auctor, dux virtutum omnium, cunctorumque hostium victor, benedic hunc famulum

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[7] "Confortatæ sint," Leofric MS.

[8] In the Leofric MS. merely "*Alia.*"

[9] "principis nostri," Leofric MS.

[10] "de pomis" desunt in Leofric MS.

[11] "*Et confirmabitur cum benedictione omni populo in solio regni.*" Rubr. Leofric MS. An English pontifical, a manuscript of the beginning of the tenth century now in the library at Rouen (no. 362), has the following rubric in this place: "*Et veniet omnis populus ad osculandum principem sempiternum, tunc confirmabitur cum benedictione ista.*"

tuum tibi suum caput inclinantem. Effunde super eum gratiam firmam, et in militia in qua probatus consistit, prolixa sanitate eum, prospera felicitate conserva, et ubicumque, vel pro quibuscumque auxilium tuum invocaverit, cito adsis, protegas, et defendas. Per.[12]

Offert. Exaudi Deus orationem meam.

Super oblata.

Suscipe, Domine, preces et munera ecclesiæ tuæ pro salute famuli N. supplicantis, et protectione fidelium populorum antiqua brachii tui operare miracula, ut superatis inimicis, secura tibi serviat christiana libertas. Per.

Præfatio.

Æterne Deus, qui providentia tua cœlestia simul et terrena moderaris, propitiare regi nostro .N. et rebus nostris, ut omnis hostium fortitudo, te pro nobis pugnante, frangatur. Per.

Conjunctio.

Hanc igitur oblationem, Domine, famuli tui N. quam tibi in mysterio officii sacerdotalis offerimus, pro eo quod in ipsum potestatem regni conferre dignatus es, propitius et benignus adsume, et exoratus nostra obsecratione concede, ut majestatis tuæ protectione confidens, et ævo augeatur et regno. Per Christum, diesque nostros.

Communio.

Inlumina faciem tuam.

Post communionem.

Deus, qui ad prædicandum æterni regni evangelium christianum imperium præparasti, prætende

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[12] From hence to the oath or promise is omitted in the Leofric MS., as it is part not of the coronation office but of the mass.

famulis tuis nunc principibus nostris arma justitiæ cœlestia, ut pax ecclesiarum nulla turbetur tempestate bellorum. Per.

Ad populum.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, nostri regni defende regem atque rectores, ut in tua dextera confidentes, fiant hostibus suis fortiores universis. Per.

Primum[13] *mandatum regis ad populum hic videre potes.*

Rectitudo regis est noviter ordinati, et in solium sublimati, hæc tria præcepta populo christiano sibi subdito præcipere: in primis, ut ecclesia Dei et omnis populus christianus veram pacem servent in[14] omni tempore. Amen.

Alia:

Aliud est, ut rapacitates et omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdicat. Amen.

Tertium est, ut in omnibus judiciis æquitatem et misericordiam præcipiat, ut per hoc nobis indulgeat misericordiam suam clemens et misericors Deus. Amen.

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[13] "*Rectitudo regis est noviter ordinati, et in solium sublimati, populo tria præcepta sibi subdito præcipere.*" Rubr. Leofric MS.

[14] "omnipotenti Deo," Leofric MS.

Litany sung at the coronation of Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror.[16]

CHRISTUS vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat. iii.

Exaudi Christe. Alexandro summo pontifici et universali papæ vita.

Pater de cœlis Deus. Tu illum adjuva.

Fili redemptor mundi Deus. Tu illum adjuva.

Spiritus sancte Deus. Tu illum adjuva.

Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat.

Exaudi Christe.

Wilhelmo serenissimo a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico regi, vita et victoria.

Sancta Maria, tu illum adjuva.

Sancte Michael, tu illum adjuva.

Sancte Raphael, tu illum adjuva.

Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat.

Exaudi Christe.

Mahthyldæ serenissimæ a Deo coronatæ reginæ salus et vita.

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[16] Dr. Henderson has printed this litany with one or two verbal omissions and with the insertion of rubrics (from the edition by Hittorpius ?) in the appendix to the York pontifical, Surtees Society, vol. lxj. He is probably quite correct in supposing it to have been sung at the coronation of queen Matilda by archbishop Aldred in 1068. The litany is now printed from the contemporary Cotton manuscript, Vitellius E. xij. fol. 159.

Sancte Iohannes, tu illam adjuva.
Sancte Petre, tu illam adjuva.
Sancte Paule, tu illam adjuva.
Sancte Andrea, tu illam adjuva.
Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat.
Exaudi Christe.
Aldrado Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et omni clero sibi commisso salus et vita.
Sancte Stephane, tu illum adjuva.
Sancte Laurenti, tu illum adjuva.
Sancte Vincenti, tu illum adjuva.
Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat.
Exaudi Christe.
Omnibus episcopis, et abbatibus, et cunctis congregationibus illis commissis, salus et vita.
Sancte Martine, tu illos adjuva.
Sancte Benedicte, tu illos adjuva.
Sancte Gregori, tu illos adjuva.
Sancte Nicholae, tu illos adjuva.
Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat.
Exaudi Christe.
Omnibus principibus Anglorum, et cuncto exercitui Christianorum, vita et victoria.
Sancta Maria Magdalena, tu illos adjuva.
Sancta Perpetua, tu illos adjuva.
Sancta Agatha, tu illos adjuva.
Sancta Lucia, tu illos adjuva.
Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat.
Redemptio et liberatio nostra.
Christus vincit. Victoria nostra.

Christus vincit. Misericordia nostra.
Christus vincit. Prudentia et justitia nostra.
Christus vincit. Fortitudo et temperantia nostra.
Christus vincit. Auxilium nostrum.
Christus vincit. Defensio nostra.
Christus vincit. Lætitia et gloriatio nostra.
Christus vincit. Vita et salus nostra.
Christus vincit. Ipsi soli honor et imperium per infinita sæcula sæculorum, amen.

Chorus ita. Ipsi soli decus, potestas et imperium per infinita sæcula sæculorum.

Chorus ita. Ipsi soli gloria, laus et jubilatio per infinita sæcula sæculorum.

Benedicat vos divina majestas Domini.

Benedicat vos spiritus sanctus qui in specie columbæ in jordane fluvio super Christum requievit.

Ille vos benedicat qui de cœlo dignatus est descendere in terram et de suo sancto sanguine nos redemit.

Benedicat Dominus sacerdotium vestrum et introitum vestrum.

Alleluia.

Gloria victori sit Christo laude perhenni,
Qui super astra manet, cujus victoria pollet.
Gloria victori.
Pro mundi vita persolvitur hostia viva,
Quam mors dum mordet necis in se tela retorquet.
Gloria.
Per mortis prætium Pharaonem vicit iniquum,
Et spolians herebum nobis dedit astra polorum.
Qui super.
Ecce preces nostras quas fundimus audiat istas,
Cunctos qui proprii nos sanguinis abluit undis.
Gloria.

Moribus ornatum Salomonis fonte repletum [16]
Poscimus Anglorum nostrum salvet basileum
Qui super astra.
Poscimus et nostram salvet Christus basileam,
Nobilem atque piam gestantem dogmatis ydram.
Gloria.
Præsulibus nostris subjectis cum sibi totis,
Angligenis turmis concedat dona salutis.
Qui super.
Nostro pontifici cujus sumus in diocesi,
Det regnum vitæ qua scandit et ipse supernæ.
Gloria victori.

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16 "*Vel* dogmate plenum" is written over the line, by the same hand. given as an alternative reading,

THE FORM AND ORDER

OF THE SERVICE THAT IS TO BE PERFORMED, AND OF THE CEREMONIES THAT ARE TO BE OBSERVED, IN

The Coronation of her Majesty Queen Victoria,

In the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, on Thursday, the 28th of June, 1838.

The Contents.[1]

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[1] I do not propose in these notes, as I have already observed in the preliminary dissertation, to do more than notice a few of the most important variations which occur in the offices which lie before me.

These are, the offices of the coronations of her present majesty, reprinted in the text: of William the fourth and queen Adelaide: of George the fourth: of George the second and queen Caroline. For any remarks on the variations of the preceding and intermediate reigns I am obliged to rely upon the authority, scarcely to be doubted in such respect, of reprints and accounts of the offices: for example, by Prynne, Sir E. Walker, and Sandford.

[2] This is called "The Declaration and Oath" in the order for king George the second.

[3] "The Girding and Oblation" in the orders until king William the fourth. The student must compare the note in the place below.

[4] "The Investing with the Armill and the Royal Robe" until king William the fourth.

[5] The order of king George the fourth adds here "xvij. The final Anthem;" which is also the arrangement of the order of king George the second. As in this last instance, and in that also of king William the fourth, a queen was also crowned, both these orders add "xviij. the Queen's coronation."

The
Form and Order of her Majesty's Coronation.

IN the Morning upon the Day of the Coronation early, Care is to be taken that the Ampulla *be filled with Oil, and, together with the* Spoon, *be laid ready upon the Altar in the Abbey-Church.*

SECT. I.—The Entrance into the Church.

The Queen, as soon as She enters at the West Door of the Church, is to be received with the following Anthem, to be sung by the Choir.[6]

Anthem.

I WAS glad when they said unto me, We will go into the House of the Lord. For there is the Seat of Judgement, even the Seat of the House of David. O pray for the peace of Jerusalem; They shall prosper that love Thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy Palaces.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

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[6] "by the choir of Westminster," William the fourth. And the earlier forms add: "who, with the Dean and Prebendaries of that church, are before to fall off from the procession a little to the left side of the middle aisle, and stay there to attend the coming of *his Majesty* [*their Majesties*], and then going next before *the regalia* [*the Queen's regalia*] to sing."

The Queen in the mean time passes up through the Body of the Church, into, and through the Choir, and so up the Stairs to the Theatre; and having passed by Her Throne, She makes Her humble Adoration, and then kneeling at the Faldstool[7] *set for Her before Her Chair, uses some short private Prayers; and after, sitting down (not in Her Throne, but in Her Chair before, and below, Her Throne), there reposes Herself.*

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[7] According to the pictures of the late coronations this "faldstool" has changed much from its original and proper shape: it would seem that a desk to kneel at, upon which it would not be possible to sit, which was one end and object of the proper faldstool, is now placed before the chair. The name however has been retained, and we have only to regret that the thing itself has been changed. Very probably this has been owing to the interference of subordinate officials: who, very ignorant of the purposes and meaning of many parts of the service, and of the proper ornaments and the furniture to be provided, have nevertheless obtruded themselves into matters beyond their office.

The same alteration has taken place in France: and there also the proper faldstool has been supplanted by a cushioned desk to kneel at. How long this has been I know not in either case: but the faldstool was not used at the coronation of Louis the fifteenth in 1722. See the plates, in the account of it, *Le sacre de Louis XV, roy de France*, fol. And see below, note 11.

Ducange explains the *faldistorium* to be "sella plicatilis," which in fact it was: something like the common camp-stool of the present day. The same writer quotes various etymologies which have been proposed for the name; the most probable of which, as it is the most obvious, derives it "a Longobardico *falden*, plicare, et *stoul*, sedes." In the coronation-service of Charles the fifth of France (so often cited above) the faldstool occurs in many of the illuminations: one is placed for the king, another for the archbishop, and both alike: a low crossed or folding stool which might be used either to kneel at or to sit upon. Examples of both of these occur in the manuscript.

SECT. II.—The Recognition.[8]

The Queen being so placed, the Archbishop turneth to the East part of the Theatre, and after, together with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Great Chamberlain, Lord High Constable and Earl Marshal (Garter King of Arms preceding them), goes to the other three sides of the Theatre in this Order, South, West, and North, and at every of the four sides, with a loud Voice, speaks to the People: And the Queen in the mean time standing up by Her Chair, turns and shows Herself unto the People at every of the four sides of the Theatre, as the Archbishop is at every of them, and while He speaks thus to the People:

SIRS, I here present unto you Queen VICTORIA, the Undoubted Queen of this Realm: Wherefore All you who are come this Day to do your Homage, Are you willing to do the same?

The People signify their Willingness and Joy, by loud and repeated Acclamations, all with one Voice crying out,

God save Queen VICTORIA.

Then the Trumpets sound.[9]

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[8] This title is of modern introduction, having been for the first time applied to this part of the service by Sandford, in his account of the coronation of James the second. But the term is ancient; for example, in the chronicle of John Bromton: "Defuncto rege Ethelredo, episcopi, et abbates, et quique terræ nobiliores omnem ejus progeniem abnegantes, Kanutum pro rege apud Suthamptoniam recognoverunt." *Script. X.* p. 903.

[9] "*And the Choir sing this Anthem:* The king shall rejoice," &c. psalm xxj. Order of George the second.

SECT. III.—The First Oblation.

The Bible, Paten, and Cup being brought by the Bishops who had borne them, and placed upon the Altar, the Archbishop goeth to the Altar and puts on his Cope, and standeth on the North Side of it: And the Bishops, who are to read the Litany, do also vest themselves. And the Officers of the Wardrobe, &c. *spread Carpets and Cushions on the Floor and Steps of the Altar.*

First Oblation, a Pall and Wedge of Gold.

Which being done, the Queen, supported by the two Bishops, of Durham *and* Bath and Wells, *and attended by the Dean of* Westminster, *the Great Officers, and the Lords that carry the* Regalia *going before Her, goes down to the Altar, and kneeling upon the Steps of it makes her* First Oblation; *Which is a* Pall, *or* Altar-Cloth *of* Gold, *delivered by an Officer of the Wardrobe to the Lord Great Chamberlain, and by Him, kneeling, to Her Majesty: and an Ingot or Wedge of Gold of a pound weight, which the Treasurer of the Household delivers to the Lord Great Chamberlain, and He to Her Majesty, kneeling: Who delivers them to the Archbishop, and the Archbishop standing (in which posture he is to receive all other Oblations) receives from Her, one after another, the Pall to be reverently laid upon the Altar, and the Gold to be received into the Bason, and with the like Reverence put upon the Altar.*[10]

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[10] In those orders where a queen was crowned with a king, the rubric for her majesty's oblation is inserted here also: "Then the Queen ariseth from her chair, and being likewise supported by two Bishops, and the Lords which carry her regalia going before her, goeth down to the altar, and kneeling upon the cushions there laid for her, on the left hand of the king's, maketh

Then the Archbishop saith this Prayer, the Queen still kneeling:

O GOD, who dwellest in the high and holy Place, with them also who are of an humble Spirit, Look down mercifully upon this Thy Servant, VICTORIA our Queen, here humbling Herself before Thee at Thy Footstool, and graciously receive these Oblations, which in humble Acknowledgment of Thy Sovereignty over all, and of Thy great Bounty to Her in particular, She hath now offered up unto Thee, through Jesus Christ our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

The Queen having thus offered, and so fulfilled his Commandment, who said, Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty; *goes to Her Chair set for Her on the South side of the Altar, where She is to kneel at Her Faldstool*[11] *when the Litany begins.*

In the mean time, the Lords who carry the Regalia, *except those who carry the Swords, come in order near to the Altar, and present Every One what He carries to the Archbishop, who delivers*

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her Oblation, which is a Pall, to be received also by the Archbishop, and laid upon the altar."

King James the first offered "a pall and twenty pieces of gold."

[11] The use of this term "faldstool" for the place at which the sovereign is to kneel during the litany has been observed since the time of king James the first.

The sermon was appointed to be preached here, followed by the oath, the "Veni creator" and a prayer, in the orders of king James the first and Charles the second. In James the second's the litany preceded the sermon: but, as will be remarked again presently, at that coronation there was no communion. The present order began with king William the third and queen Mary.

them to the Dean of Westminster, *to be by Him placed upon the Altar, and then retire to the Places and Seats appointed for Them.*

SECT. IV.—THE LITANY.

Then followeth the Litany, to be read by two Bishops, vested in Copes, and kneeling at a Faldstool above the Steps of the Theatre, on the middle of the East side thereof, the Choir reading the Responses.[12]

O God the Father of heaven: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Father of heaven: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Son, Redeemer of the world: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Son, Redeemer of the world: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three persons and one God: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, three persons and one God: have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers, neither take thou vengeance of

[12] "The Choir singing the responses to the organ," George the second.

our sins: spare us, good Lord, spare thy people whom thou hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever.

Spare us, good Lord.

From all evil and mischief; from sin, from the crafts and assaults of the devil; from thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation,

Good Lord, deliver us.

From all blindness of heart; from pride, vainglory, and hypocrisy; from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness,

Good Lord, deliver us.

From fornication, and all other deadly sin; and from all the deceits of the world, the flesh, and the devil,

Good Lord, deliver us.

From lightning and tempest; from plague, pestilence, and famine; from battle and murder, and from sudden death,

Good Lord, deliver us.

From all sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion; from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism; from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy Word and Commandment,

Good Lord, deliver us.

By the mystery of thy holy Incarnation; by thy holy Nativity and Circumcision; by thy Baptism, Fasting, and Temptation,

Good Lord, deliver us.

By thine Agony and bloody Sweat; by thy Cross and Passion; by thy precious Death and Burial; by thy glorious Resurrection and Ascension; and by the coming of the Holy Ghost,

Good Lord, deliver us.

In all time of our tribulation; in all time of our wealth; in the hour of death, and in the day of judgement,

Good Lord, deliver us.

We sinners do beseech thee to hear us, O Lord God, and that it may please thee to rule and govern thy holy Church universal in the right way;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to keep and strengthen in the true worshipping of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life, thy Servant VICTORIA, our most gracious Queen and Governor;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to rule her heart in thy faith, fear, and love, and that she may evermore have affiance in thee, and ever seek thy honour and glory;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to be her defender and keeper, giving her the victory over all her enemies;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bless and preserve ADELAIDE the Queen Dowager, and all the Royal Family;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to illuminate all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, with true knowledge and understanding of thy Word, and that both by their preaching and living they may set it forth, and shew it accordingly;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to endue the Lords of the Council, and all the Nobility, with grace, wisdom, and understanding;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bless and keep the Magistrates, giving them grace to execute justice, and to maintain truth;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bless and keep all thy people;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give to all nations, unity, peace, and concord;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give us an heart to love and dread thee, and diligently to live after thy commandments;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give to all thy people increase of grace, to hear meekly thy Word, and to receive it with pure affection, and to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred, and are deceived;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to strengthen such as do stand, and to comfort and help the weak-hearted, and to raise up them that fall, and finally to beat down Satan under our feet;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to succour, help, and comfort all that are in danger, necessity, and tribulation;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to preserve all that travel by land or by water, all women labouring of child,

all sick persons and young children, and to shew thy pity upon all prisoners and captives;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to defend and provide for the fatherless children and widows, and all that are desolate and oppressed;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to have mercy upon all men;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to forgive our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, and to turn their hearts;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give and preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth, so as in due time we may enjoy them;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to give us true repentance, to forgive us all our sins, negligences, and ignorances, and to endue us with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, to amend our lives according to thy holy Word;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

Son of God: we beseech thee to hear us.

Son of God: we beseech thee to hear us.

O Lamb of God: that takest away the sins of the world;

Grant us thy peace.

O Lamb of God: that takest away the sins of the world;

Have mercy upon us.

O Christ, hear us.

O Christ, hear us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.

¶ *Then shall the Bishops, and the people with them, say the Lord's prayer.*

OUR Father, which art in Heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done in Earth, As it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Bishop. O Lord, deal not with us after our sins.
Answer. Neither reward us after our iniquities.

¶ Let us pray.

O GOD, merciful Father, that despisest not the sighing of a contrite heart, nor the desire of such as be sorrowful; Mercifully assist our prayers that we make before thee in all our troubles and adversities, whensoever they oppress us; and graciously hear us, that those evils which the craft and subtilty of the devil or man worketh against us, be brought to nought, and by the providence of thy goodness they may be dispersed, that we thy servants, being hurt by no persecutions, may evermore give thanks unto thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thy Name's sake.

O GOD, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them.

O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thine Honour.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost;

Answ. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

From our enemies defend us, O Christ.
Graciously look upon our afflictions.
Pitifully behold the sorrows of our hearts.
Mercifully forgive the sins of thy people.
Favourably with mercy hear our prayers.
O Son of David, have mercy upon us.
Both now and ever vouchsafe to hear us, O Christ.
Graciously hear us, O Christ; graciously hear us, O Lord Christ.
Bish. O Lord, let thy mercy be shewed upon us.
Answ. As we do put our trust in thee.

¶ Let us pray.

WE humbly beseech thee, O Father, mercifully to look upon our infirmities; and for the glory of thy Name turn from us all those evils that we most righteously have deserved; and grant that in all our troubles we may put our whole trust and confidence in thy mercy, and evermore serve thee in holiness and pureness of living, to thy honour and glory, through our only Mediator and Advocate, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O GOD, who providest for thy people by thy power, and rulest over them in love, grant unto this thy servant our QUEEN the spirit of wisdom and government, that being devoted unto thee with all her heart, she may so wisely govern this kingdom, that in her time thy church and people may continue in safety and prosperity; and that persevering in good works unto the end she may through thy mercy come to thine everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord. *Amen.*

THE Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. *Amen.*

The Bishops who read the Litany will resume their Seats.[13]

SECT. V.—THE BEGINNING OF THE COMMUNION SERVICE.

Sanctus.

Holy! Holy! Holy, Lord God of Hosts;
Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory;
Glory be to Thee, O Lord most High;
Amen.

Then the Archbishop beginneth the Communion Service.

OUR Father, which art in Heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done in Earth, As it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our

[13] This rubric occurs for the first time.

trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. Amen.

Collect.

ALMIGHTY GOD, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid; Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name, through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Archbishop, turning to the People, rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commandments; and the People, still kneeling, shall after every Commandment ask God Mercy for their transgression thereof for the time past, and Grace to keep the same for the time to come, as followeth.*

Archbishop.

GOD spake these words, and said, I am the Lord thy God: thou shalt have none other gods but me.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shew mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my commandments.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Remember that thou keep holy the sabbath-day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt do no murder.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt not steal.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law.

Archb. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech thee.

¶ *Then shall follow this Collect for the Queen, the Archbishop standing as before, and saying,*

Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite; Have mercy upon the whole Church, and so rule the heart of thy chosen Servant VICTORIA our Queen and Governor, that she (knowing whose Minister she is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory; and that we and all her subjects (duly considering whose authority she hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey her, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word and ordinance, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

THE EPISTLE,

To be read by one of the Bishops. 1 Pet. ii. 13.

SUBMIT yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the King as supreme; or unto Governors, as unto them

that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: As free, and not using your liberty for a cloke of maliciousness, but as the servants of God. Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the King.

THE GOSPEL,

To be read by another Bishop, the Queen with the People standing. S. Matth. xxii. 15.

THEN went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk. And they sent out unto him their disciples, with the Herodians, saying, Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, neither carest thou for any man: for thou regardest not the person of men. Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar, or not? But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Shew me the tribute-money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he said unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? They said unto him, Cæsar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's. When they had heard these words they marvelled, and left him, and went their way.

Then the Archbishop readeth the Nicene *Creed; the Queen with the people standing, as before.*

I BELIEVE in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible:

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made: Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man, And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: Whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord and giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the prophets. And I believe one Catholick and Apostolick Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the resurrection of the dead, And the life of the world to come. *Amen.*

The Service being concluded, the Bishops who assisted will return to their Seats.[14]

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[14] This rubric occurs for the first time. These seats, according to a rubric in another place in George the second's order, are to be "on the North side of the wall between the Archbishop and the pulpit."

SECT. VI.—The Sermon.

At the end of the Creed one of the Bishops is ready in the Pulpit, placed against the Pillar at the North-East Corner of the Theatre, and begins the Sermon, which is to be suitable to the great Occasion; which the Queen hears sitting in Her Chair on the South side of the Altar, over against the Pulpit.[15]

On Her right hand stands the Bishop of Durham, *and beyond him, on the same side, the Lords that carry the Swords: On Her left hand the Bishop of* Bath and Wells, *and the Lord Great Chamberlain.*

On the North side of the Altar sits the Archbishop in a purple Velvet Chair: Near the Archbishop stands Garter King of Arms: On the South side, East of the Queen's Chair, nearer to the Altar, stand the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster.

SECT. VII.—The Oath.

The Sermon being ended, and Her Majesty having on Monday the 20th Day of November 1837, *in the presence of the Two Houses of Parliament, made and signed the Declaration,*[16] *the Archbishop goeth to the*

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[15] "And whereas the king was uncovered during the offering and service following; when the service begins, he puts on his cap of crimson velvet turned up with ermins, and so continues to the end of it." Orders of Wm. IV, Geo. IV, &c.

[16] This alteration, a very proper one, that the sovereign should previously in another place, before the two Houses of Parliament, make and sign "the Declaration," was made after the reign of king George the second, from whose order, as the subject is important, I shall transcribe the form:—

"Sect. vij. The Declaration and Oath.

Sermon being ended, the Archbishop goeth to the King, and standing before him, asketh him;

"Is your Majesty willing to make the Declaration?

Queen, and standing before Her, says to the Queen,
Madam,

Is Your Majesty willing to take the Oath?

And the Queen answering,

I am willing.

The Archbishop ministereth these Questions;[17] *and*

"*The King answers;*

"I am willing.

"*The Archbishop being ready with the said Declaration written in a roll of parchment, and reading it as followeth:—*

"I George the Second, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, That I do believe, that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the Elements of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever: and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other Saint, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as they are commonly understood by *English* Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am, or may be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or power whatsoever, should dispense with, or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

"*The King makes, and audibly repeats and subscribes the same upon the top of his faldstool, a silver standish being brought out of the traverse for that purpose. Then the Archbishop administers the Coronation Oath,*" &c.

[17] It does not seem improper to transcribe the questions and promises preceding the oath, as they were appointed (with some unimportant verbal alterations) in the orders for James the first, Charles the second, and James the second:—

"*The Archbishop ministreth*

the Queen, having a Copy of the printed Form and Order of the Coronation Service in Her Hands, answers each Question severally, as follows.

Archb. Will You solemnly promise and swear to govern the People of this United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, according to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the respective Laws and Customs of the same?

Queen. I solemnly promise so to do.

Archb. Will You to Your power cause Law and

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the three first questions, and the King answereth them severally:—

"*Archbishop.* Sir, will you grant and keep, and by your oath confirm to the people of England the laws and customs to them granted by the Kings of England, your lawful and religious predecessors, and namely the laws, customs and franchises, granted to the clergy by the glorious king, St. Edward, your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom, agreeable to the prerogative of the kings thereof, and the ancient customs of this realm?

"*King.* I grant and promise to keep them.

"*Archbishop.* Sir, will you keep peace, and godly agreement (according to your power) both to God, the Holy Church, the clergy, and the people?

"*King.* I will keep it.

"*Archbishop.* Sir, will you (to your power) cause law, justice, and discretion in mercy and truth to be executed to your judgment?

"*King.* I will.

"*Archbishop.* Sir, will you grant to hold and keep the laws and rightful customs which the commonalty of this your kingdom have: and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth?

"*King.* I grant and promise so to do."

After these questions, follows in those "Orders" the "petition of the Bishops;" which has been already noted and transcribed: see above, p. 9, note 13. I need scarcely refer the student to the whole corresponding portion of the ancient service.

England and *Ireland*, and to the Churches there committed to their Charge, all such Rights and Privileges, as by Law do, or shall appertain to Them, or any of Them?

Queen. All this I promise to do.

The Bible to be brought.

Then the Queen arising out of Her Chair, attended by Her supporters, and assisted by the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Sword of State being carried before Her, shall go to the Altar, and there make Her Solemn Oath in the sight of all the People, to observe the Premises: Laying Her right hand upon the Holy Gospel[19] *in the Great Bible, which was before carried in the Procession, and is now brought from the Altar by the Archbishop, and tendered to Her as She kneels upon the Steps, saying these Words:*

The things which I have here before promised, I will perform, and keep. So help me God.[20]

And a Silver Standish.

Then the Queen kisseth the Book, and signeth the Oath.

SECT. VIII.—The Anointing.

The Queen having thus taken Her Oath, returns again to Her Chair on the South Side of the Altar; and kneeling at Her Faldstool, the Archbishop be-

[19] There is certainly some obscurity about this term, "the Holy Gospel in the Great Bible." It might either mean the new testament in that book, or the proper gospel appointed for the day, or simply be taken as a periphrasis for the bible itself: the whole scriptures being in a sense a gospel. The order for king James the first speaks of "the Bible:" that for king Charles the second, which was followed by James the second, directs the king to take the oath "laying his hand upon the Evangelists."

[20] "So help me God, and the contents of this book." James the first, Charles the second, and James the second.

ginneth the Hymn, Veni, Creator Spiritus, *and the Choir singeth it out.*

HYMN.

COME, Holy Ghost, our Souls inspire,
  And warm them with thy Heavenly fire.
Thou who th'Anointing Spirit art,
  To Us thy sevenfold Gifts impart.
Let thy bless'd Unction from above
  Be to Us Comfort, Life, and Love.
Enable with Celestial Light
  The weakness of our mortal Sight:
Anoint our Hearts, and cheer our Face,
  With the abundance of thy Grace:
Keep far our Foes, give Peace at Home;
  Where thou dost dwell, no Ill can come:
Teach us to know the Father, Son,
  And Spirit of Both, to be but One.
That so through Ages all along,
  This may be our triumphant Song;
In Thee, O Lord, we make our boast,
  Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

This being ended, the Archbishop saith this Prayer:

O LORD, Holy Father, who by anointing with Oil didst of old make and consecrate Kings, Priests, and Prophets, to teach and govern thy People Israel: Bless and Sanctify thy Chosen Servant VICTORIA, who by our Office and Ministry is now to be anointed with this Oil, and consecrated Queen of this Realm: Strengthen Her, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost the Comforter; Confirm and Stablish Her with thy free and Princely Spirit, the Spirit of

Here the Archbishop lays his hand upon the Ampulla.

Wisdom and Government, the Spirit of Counsel and Ghostly Strength, the Spirit of Knowledge and true Godliness, and fill Her, O Lord, with the Spirit of thy Holy Fear, now and for ever. *Amen.*

This Prayer being ended, the Choir sing:

ANTHEM.

1 Kings i. 39, 40. ZADOK the Priest and Nathan the Prophet anointed Solomon King; and all the People rejoiced, and said; God save the King, Long live the King, May the King live for ever. Amen. Hallelujah.

At the commencement of the Anthem, the Queen rising from Her Devotions, goes before the Altar, attended by Her Supporters, and assisted by the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Sword of State being carried before Her, where Her Majesty is disrobed of Her Crimson Robes.

The Queen will then sit down in King Edward's *Chair placed in the midst of the* Area *over against the Altar, with a Faldstool before it, wherein She is to be Anointed. Four Knights of the Garter hold over Her a rich Pall of Silk, or Cloth of Gold; the Anthem being concluded, the Dean of* Westminster *taking the* Ampulla *and* Spoon *from off the Altar, holdeth them ready, pouring some of the Holy Oil into the Spoon, and with it the Archbishop anointeth the Queen, in the Form of a Cross:*

[21] *On the Crown of the Head, and on the Palms of both Hands, saying,*

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[21] The orders for George the second and George the fourth appoint as follows:—

"1. *On the crown of the head,*

Be Thou anointed with Holy Oil, as Kings, Priests, and Prophets were anointed:

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saying, Be thy head anointed with holy oil, as kings, priests, and prophets were anointed.

"2. *On the breast, saying*, Be thy breast anointed with holy oil.

"3. *On the palms of both the hands, saying*, Be thy hands anointed with holy oil.

"And as Solomon," &c.

My copy of the order for king George the fourth is corrected *as it was used on the occasion*, by the then York herald, C. G. Young, esq., and I must add, that although in the service itself the form of anointing stands as I have just transcribed it, yet the second anointing (of the breast) has been crossed through with a pen, and I have no doubt was in fact omitted.

We may easily trace the subsequent alterations, first for king William the fourth, and followed by the order for her present majesty: the anointing not only being omitted but the two unctions thrown (as it were) together, and no distinct benediction appointed for each. These changes and omissions, to be referred to the coronation probably of George the fourth, are, I think, to be regretted.

But we must compare the form as it stood in the seventeenth century. I shall quote from the order of king James the first, which was followed, generally, by Charles the first and second and James the second, except that in the case of Charles the second the oil having been consecrated previously, the proper preface and benediction were of course omitted:—

"*The Litany being ended, the Archbishop beginneth to say aloud*, Lift up your hearts. *Answ.* We lift them up unto the Lord. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, the strength of thy chosen and the exalter of the humble, which in the beginning, by the pouring out of the flood, didst chasten the sins of the world, and by a dove conveying an olive branch, didst give a token of reconcilement unto the earth, and again didst consecrate thy servant Aaron a priest by the anointing of oil, and afterward by the effusion of this oil didst make kings, and priests, and prophets to govern thy people Israel, and by the voice of the prophet David didst foretell that the countenance of thy Church should be made cheerful with oil: We beseech thee, Almighty Father, that thou wilt vouchsafe to bless and sanctify this thy servant *James*, that he may minister peace

And as Solomon was anointed King by Zadok the Priest and Nathan the Prophet, so be You anointed, blessed, and consecrated Queen over this

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unto his people, and imitate Aaron in the service of God. That he may attain the perfection of Government in counsel and judgment, and a countenance always cheerful, and amiable to the whole people, through Christ our Lord.

"*This done, the king ariseth from his devotion, and reposeth himself a while in his chair of estate. After a while he goeth to the Altar, and there disrobeth himself of his upper garments, his under apparel being made open, with loops only closed, at the places which are to be anointed.*

"*The archbishop undoeth the loops, and openeth the places which he is to anoint.*

"*The archbishop first anointeth his hands, saying,*

"Let these hands be anointed, as kings and prophets have been anointed, and as Samuel did anoint David to be king, that thou may'st be blessed, and established a King in this kingdom over this people, whom the Lord thy God hath given thee to rule and govern, which he vouchsafe to grant, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost, &c.

"*The mean while the quire singeth the Anthem:*

"Sadock the Priest, &c.

"*The Archbishop saith this prayer:* Look down, Almighty God, with thy favourable countenance, &c.

"*The prayer ended, the Archbishop proceedeth with his anointing.* 1. *Of the breast.* 2. *Between the shoulders.* 3. *Of both the shoulders.* 4. *Of the 'boughes' of both his arms.* 5. *Of his head in the crown.*

"*The anointing being done, the Dean of Westminster closeth the loops again which were opened. The Archbishop saith these prayers.*

"God the Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, which was anointed by His Father, &c.

"God, which art the Glory of the righteous, &c.

"*The prayers being ended, First a shallow 'Quoif' is put on the king's head, because of the anointing: if his Majesty's hair be not smooth after it, there is King Edward's ivory comb for that end.*

"*Then the colobium or dalmatica is put on him,*" &c.

In the forms for James the first, Charles the second, and James the second, after the anointing, before the presenting of the spurs, the "colobium sindonis," the "supertunica," and the "tynsen" or "tissue hose and sandalls" were, in due order, to be put on.

People, whom the Lord your God hath given you to rule and govern, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

Then the Dean of Westminster *layeth the* Ampulla *and* Spoon *upon the Altar, and the Queen kneeleth down at the Faldstool, and the Archbishop standing on the North side of the Altar, saith this Prayer or Blessing over Her:*

OUR Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who by his Father was anointed with the Oil of gladness above his fellows, by his Holy Anointing pour down upon your Head and Heart the Blessing of the Holy Ghost, and prosper the Works of your Hands: that by the Assistance of his Heavenly Grace you may preserve the People committed to your charge in Wealth, Peace, and Godliness; and after a long and glorious Course of ruling this Temporal Kingdom Wisely, Justly, and Religiously, you may at last be made Partaker of an Eternal Kingdom, through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

This Prayer being ended, the Queen arises, and sits down again in Her Chair.[22]

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[22] There is considerable variety in the later forms in this place. The order for William the fourth adds: "*When the Dean of Westminster will invest his Majesty with the supertunica.*"

The orders for George the fourth and George the second add, after the word "Chair:" "*And the Dean of Westminster wipes and dries all the places anointed, with fine linen, or fine bombast wool, delivered to him by the Lord Great Chamberlain.*"

This sentence however has been erased by the York herald, in the copy before me: and the following inserted with a pen: "When the Dean will invest his majesty with the supertunica of

SECT. IX.

The presenting of the Spurs and Sword,[23] and the Oblation of the said Sword.

The Spurs.

The Spurs *are brought from the Altar by the Dean of* Westminster, *and delivered to the Lord Great Chamberlain, who, kneeling down, presents them to the Queen, who forthwith sends them back to the Altar.*

The Sword of State returned.

Then the Lord, who carries the Sword of State, *returns the said Sword to the Lord Chamberlain (who gives it to an Officer of the Jewel House, to be deposited in the Traverse in* King Edward's *Chapel*), *and receiveth in lieu thereof, from the Lord Chamberlain, another* Sword, *in a* Scabbard *of* Purple Velvet, *which he will deliver to the Archbishop, who, laying it on the Altar, saith the following Prayer:*

Another Sword brought.

HEAR our prayers, O Lord, we beseech thee, and so direct and support thy Servant Queen VICTORIA, that She may not bear the Sword in vain; but may use it as the Minister of God for the

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cloth of gold, and a girdle of the same for the sword."

The order for George the second appoints also:—

"*Then this short anthem is sung.*

"Behold, O God our Defender, and look upon the face of thine anointed. Great prosperity givest thou unto thy King, and wilt shew loving kindness to thine anointed for evermore. *Hallelujah.*"

[23] As before remarked (see above, note 3) the earlier modern forms, until the order of king William the fourth, appointed the sword to be "girded" as well as presented. If there were any reasons why this omission should have been continued in the order for her present majesty, it is nevertheless not easy to perceive the exact cause for the first example in the case of William the fourth.

terror and punishment of Evil-doers, and for the protection and encouragement of those that do well, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then the Archbishop takes the Sword *from off the Altar, and (the Archbishops of* York *and* Armagh, *and the Bishops of* London *and* Winchester, *and other Bishops, assisting, and going along with him) delivers it into the Queen's Right Hand, and She holding it, the Archbishop saith:* Delivered to the Queen.

RECEIVE this Kingly Sword, brought now from the Altar of God, and delivered to You by the hands of us the Bishops and Servants of God, though Unworthy.[24] With this Sword do Justice, stop the Growth of Iniquity, protect the holy Church of God, help and defend Widows and Orphans, restore the things that are gone to decay, maintain the things that are restored, punish and reform what is amiss, and confirm what is in good Order: that doing these things, You may be glorious in all virtue; and so faithfully serve[25] our Lord Jesus Christ in this life, that You may reign for ever with Him in the Life which is to come. *Amen.*

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[24] In the previous orders to that of William the fourth the form of delivery of the sword ended here, and was followed by this rubric and admonition:—

"*The king standing up, the sword is girt about him by the Lord Great Chamberlain, or some other peer thereto by him appointed, and then the King sitting down, the Archbishop saith:*—

"Remember Him of whom the royal Psalmist did prophesy, saying, 'Gird thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O Thou most mighty, good luck have Thou with thine honour, ride on prosperously, because of truth, meekness, and righteousness;' and be thou a follower of Him. With this sword do justice," &c.: as in the text.

[25] "and so faithfully represent," George the fourth; "and so represent," George the second.

Offered and redeemed. *Then the Queen, rising up, and going to the Altar, offers the Sword there in the Scabbard, delivering it to the Archbishop, who places it on the Altar; the Queen then returns and sits down in* King Edward's *Chair: And the Lord who first received the Sword offereth the Price of it,*[26] *and having thus redeemed it, receiveth it from off the Altar by the Dean of* Westminster, *and draweth it out of the Scabbard, and carries it naked before Her Majesty during the rest of the solemnity.*

The Archbishops and Bishops who had assisted during this Oblation will return to their Places.

SECT. X.[27]

The Investing with the *Royal Robe*,[28] and the Delivery of the *Orb*.

The Royal Robe. *Then the Queen arising, the* Imperial Mantle, *or* Dalmatic Robe, *of Cloth of Gold, lined or furred*

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[26] "namely, a hundred shillings," George the fourth and George the second.

[27] With a few verbal differences, of no importance, this whole section agrees with the corresponding one in the order drawn up for William the fourth, and in both forms we have to regret the entire omission (as in the case also of queen Anne?] of "the investing with the Armill."

It will be well first to transcribe this omitted part, as appointed in the order of George the second:—

"Sect. x. The investing with the *Armill* and *Royal Robe*, and the delivery of the *Orb*.

"*Then the king arising, the Dean of Westminster takes the Armill from the master of the great wardrobe, and putteth it about his majesty's neck, and tyeth it to the bowings of his arms, above and below the elbows, with silk strings; the archbishop standing before the king, and saying;*

Receive this Armill as a token of the Divine Mercy embracing you on every side." Then follows the putting on of "the Robe Royal," or "Imperial Mantle."

In the printed copies of the

with Ermins, is by an Officer of the Wardrobe delivered to the Dean of Westminster, *and by him put upon the Queen, standing; The Queen having received it, sits down, and then the Orb*[29] *with the Cross is brought* The Orb.

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order of George the fourth this section is the same as in that of George the second: but in the copy before mentioned as corrected by the York herald it would seem that for some cause or other, after the book was printed for use, an alteration was made, and (I am bound to add) a blunder was very carefully arranged. For it was so managed (by whose advice I know not) that contrary to all precedent the armill was put on after the dalmatic. The correction reads thus:—

"Sect. X. The investing with the *Royal Robe* and the *Armill*, and the delivery of the *Orb*.

"*Then the king arising, the Dean of Westminster takes the royal robe or dalmatic robe of state, of cloth of gold, delivered to him by the master of the great wardrobe, and puts it upon the king, standing, the crimson robe which he wore before being first taken off by the Lord Great Chamberlain, and then the Armill, with which the dean will also invest his majesty, standing before the king, and saying:* Receive," &c.

The investing with the armill, as already remarked, was observed in the coronations before that of William the fourth: but the form of words varied; for example, in king James the first's time:—

"Receive the Armill, as a token of God's embracing, whereby all thy works may be defended against thy enemies, both bodily and ghostly, through Christ our Lord."

[28] This now called "Royal Robe" is the ancient pallium: the "open pall" as it is called in the orders of Charles the second and James the second. The form of words in the last-named order is similar somewhat to the form in the text: but in the orders of Charles the second and James the first, the ancient words of delivery were still used:—

"*Then the mantle or open Pall is put on by the Dean of Westminster: the archbishop saying:*—

"Receive this Pall, which is formed with four corners, to let thee understand, that the four quarters of the world are subject to the power of God, and that no man can happily reign upon earth, who hath not received his authority from heaven." James the first.

[29] The orb is not among the pieces of the ancient regalia;

from the Altar by the Dean of Westminster, *and delivered into the Queen's Right Hand by the Archbishop, pronouncing this Blessing and Exhortation:*

RECEIVE this Imperial Robe, and Orb, and the Lord Your God endue You with Knowledge and Wisdom, with Majesty and with Power from on High; The Lord clothe You with the Robe of Righteousness, and with the Garments of Salvation. And when You see this Orb set under the Cross, remember that the whole World is subject to the Power and Empire of Christ our Redeemer. For He is the Prince of the Kings of the Earth; King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: So that no man can reign happily, who derives not his Authority from Him, and directs not all his Actions according to His Laws.

The Queen delivers Her Orb to the Dean of Westminster, *to be by him laid on the Altar.*

SECT. XI.

The Investiture *per Annulum et Baculum.*[30]

Then an Officer of the Jewel House delivers to the

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and is not mentioned in the rubrics of the old pontificals. It was probably joined to one of the sceptres from a very early period. It seems clear from Walsingham that in his time the orb was so placed: "Tunc dedit ei archiepiscopus virgam in alia manu, habentem in summitate columbam, nam sceptrum quod susceperat consurrexit de rotundo globo aureo, quem tenebat in manu chirothecata." *Hist. Angl.* p. 106. See above, p. xxxvij, where the second sceptre is put into the left hand, the right hand having already received the sceptre with the orb.

[30] In the orders of the seventeenth century the putting on of the crown preceded the delivery

Lord Chamberlain the Queen's Ring, *who delivers the same to the Archbishop, in which a Table Jewel is enchased; the Archbishop puts it on the Fourth Finger of Her Majesty's Right Hand,*[31] *and saith;* The Ring.

RECEIVE this Ring, the Ensign of Kingly Dignity, and of Defence of the Catholic Faith; and as You are this day solemnly invested in the Government of this earthly Kingdom,[32] so may You be sealed with that Spirit of Promise, which is the Earnest of an heavenly Inheritance, and reign with Him who is the blessed and only Potentate, to whom be Glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Then the Dean of Westminster *brings the* Sceptre *and* Rod *to the Archbishop; and the Lord of the Manour of* Worksop (*who claims to hold an Estate by the Service of presenting to the Queen a Right Hand Glove on the Day of Her Coronation, and supporting the Queen's Right Arm whilst She holds the Sceptre with the Cross*) *delivers to the Queen a* Pair *of* rich Gloves, *and upon any Occasion happening afterwards, supports Her Majesty's Right Arm, or holds Her Sceptre by Her.* The Sceptre and Rod.

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of the ring and sceptre. "The investiture per annulum et baculum" first appears as a title like "the recognition" in Sandford's account of the coronation of James the second.

[31] In James the first: "*Then he putteth the ring on his wedding finger, saying,* "Receive the ring," &c.

The forms of words in the orders of the seventeenth century differ very considerably in the whole of this part of the service, but I do not think it necessary to transcribe all of them.

[32] This sentence stood thus in the order for George the second: "That as you are this day consecrated head of this kingdom and people." I do not see why it should have been altered.

The Gloves.

The Gloves being put on, the Archbishop delivers the Sceptre, with the Cross, into the Queen's Right Hand, saying,

RECEIVE the Royal Sceptre, the Ensign of Kingly Power and Justice.

And then he delivers the Rod with the Dove, into the Queen's Left Hand, and saith,

RECEIVE the Rod of Equity and Mercy: and God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, direct and assist You in the Administration and Exercise of all those Powers which he hath given You. Be so merciful, that You be not too remiss; so execute Justice, that you forget not Mercy. Judge with Righteousness, and reprove with Equity, and accept no Man's Person. Abase the Proud, and lift up the Lowly; punish the Wicked, protect and cherish the Just, and lead your People in the way wherein they should go: thus in all things following His great and holy Example, of whom the Prophet *David* said "Thou lovest Righteousness, and hatest Iniquity; The Sceptre of thy Kingdom is a right Sceptre;" even Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

SECT. XII.

The putting on of the Crown.

K. Edward's Crown.

The Archbishop, standing before the Altar, taketh the Crown into his Hands, and laying it again before him upon the Altar, saith;

O GOD, who crownest thy faithful Servants with Mercy and loving Kindness; Look down upon[33] this thy Servant VICTORIA our Queen, who now in lowly Devotion boweth Her Head to thy Divine Majesty; and as thou dost this day set a Crown of pure Gold upon Her Head, so enrich Her Royal Heart with thy heavenly Grace; and crown Her with all Princely Virtues, which may adorn the high Station wherein thou hast placed Her, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be Honour and Glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Here the Queen must be put in mind to bow her Head.

Then the Queen still sitting in King Edward's *Chair, the Archbishop, assisted with the same Archbishops and Bishops as before, comes from the Altar; the Dean of* Westminster *brings the Crown, and the Archbishop taking it of him, reverently putteth it upon the Queen's Head. At the sight whereof the People, with loud and repeated Shouts, cry,* God Save the Queen, *and the* Trumpets *sound, and by a Signal given, the great Guns at the* Tower *are shot off. As soon as the Queen is crowned, the Peers, &c. put on their Coronets and Caps.*

The Queen crowned.

The Acclamation ceasing, the Archbishop goeth on, and saith,[34]

BE strong and of a good Courage: Observe the Commandments of God, and walk in His Holy ways: Fight the good Fight of Faith, and

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[33] "Bless and sanctify this thy servant," George the second.

[34] This (with some alterations) is the ancient benediction and was preceded in the orders of the seventeenth century by two other sentences. It was restored to its former state in the form for George the fourth.

lay hold on Eternal life; that in this World You may be crowned with Success and Honour, and when You have finished Your Course, receive a Crown of Righteousness, which God the Righteous Judge shall give You in that Day. *Amen.*

Then the Choir singeth this Anthem:

ANTHEM.

THE Queen shall rejoice in Thy Strength, O Lord: exceeding glad shall She be of Thy Salvation. Thou hast prevented Her with the Blessings of Goodness, and hast set a Crown of pure Gold upon Her Head. Hallelujah. *Amen.*

SECT. XIII.

The presenting of the Holy Bible.[35]

The Bible. *Then shall the Dean of* Westminster *take the* Holy Bible, *which was carried in the Procession, from off the Altar, and deliver it to the Archbishop, who with the same Archbishops and Bishops as before going along with him, shall present it to the Queen, first saying these Words to Her:*

OUR Gracious Queen; we present You with this *Book*, the most valuable thing that this world affords. Here is Wisdom; This is the Royal Law; These are the lively Oracles of God. Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the Words of this Book; that keep, and do, the things contained

[35] This part of the ceremony was introduced (I believe for the first time) at the coronation of William the third and queen Mary. The form of words was considerably longer before the order of George the fourth.

in it. For these are the Words of Eternal Life, able to make you wise and happy in this world, nay wise unto salvation, and so happy for evermore, through Faith which is in Christ Jesus; to whom be Glory for ever. *Amen.*

Then the Queen delivers back the Bible to the Archbishop, who gives it to the Dean of Westminster, *to be reverently placed again upon the Holy Altar, the Archbishops and Bishops who had assisted returning to their Seats.*

SECT. XIV.

The Benediction, and *Te Deum.*

And now the Queen having been thus anointed and crowned, and having received all the Ensigns of Royalty, the Archbishop solemnly blesseth Her: And all the Bishops, with the rest of the Peers, follow every part of the Benediction, with a loud and hearty Amen.

THE Lord bless and keep you: The Lord make the light of his Countenance to shine for ever upon you, and be gracious unto you: The Lord protect you in all your ways, preserve you from every evil thing, and prosper you in every thing good. *Amen.* The Benediction.

The Lord give you a faithful Senate, wise and upright Counsellors and Magistrates, a loyal Nobility, and a dutiful Gentry; a pious and learned and useful Clergy; an honest, industrious, and obedient Commonalty. *Amen.*

In your days may Mercy and Truth meet together, and Righteousness and Peace kiss each other; May Wisdom and Knowledge be the Stability of

your Times, and the Fear of the Lord your Treasure. *Amen.*

The Lord make your Days many, your Reign prosperous, your Fleets and Armies victorious: and may you be reverenced and beloved by all your Subjects, and ever increase in Favour with God and man. *Amen.*

The glorious Majesty of the Lord our God be upon you: may He bless you with all temporal and spiritual Happiness in this world, and crown you with Glory and Immortality in the world to come. *Amen.*[36]

Then the Archbishop turneth to the People, and saith:

AND the same Lord God Almighty grant, that the Clergy and Nobles assembled here for this great and solemn Service, and together with them all the People of the Land, fearing God, and honouring the Queen, may by the merciful Superintendency of the Divine Providence, and the vigilant Care of our gracious Sovereign, continually enjoy Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with the Eternal Father, and God the Holy Ghost, be Glory in the Church world without end. *Amen.*

Te Deum. [37] *Then the Choir begin to sing the* Te Deum, *and*

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[36] The order of George the fourth adds:—

"The Lord give you a religious and virtuous posterity to rule these kingdoms in all ages. *Amen.*"

[37] There may have been proper reasons why the following rubric was omitted in the order for her present majesty; but, if it was not unseemly that former sovereigns should have vouchsafed so great a token of respect and of religious fellowship and love, it is not easy to say why the form drawn up for king William the fourth

the Queen goes to the Chair on which Her Majesty first sate on the East Side of the Throne, the Two Bishops Her Supporters, the Great Officers, and other Peers, attending Her, every one in his place, the two Swords being carried before Her, and there reposes Herself.

Te Deum.

WE praise thee, O God: we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.

All the earth doth worship thee: the Father everlasting.

To thee all angels cry aloud: the heavens, and all the powers therein.

To thee Cherubin and Seraphin: continually do cry,

Holy, holy, holy: Lord God of Sabaoth.

Heaven and earth are full of the majesty: of thy glory.

The glorious company of the Apostles: praise thee.

The goodly fellowship of the Prophets: praise thee.

The noble army of Martyrs: praise thee.

The holy Church throughout all the world: doth acknowledge thee;

The Father: of an infinite Majesty;

Thine honourable, true: and only Son;

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should have been the first in which it was struck out:—

"The Blessing being thus given, the king sitting down in his chair, vouchsafeth to kiss the archbishop and bishops assisting at his coronation. They kneeling before him one after another." The ceremony of kneeling would be performed, of course, as in the after act of doing homage.

Also the Holy Ghost : the Comforter.

Thou art the King of Glory: O Christ.

Thou art the everlasting Son : of the Father.

When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man : thou didst not abhor the virgin's womb.

When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death : thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.

Thou sittest at the right hand of God: in the glory of the Father.

We believe that thou shalt come: to be our Judge.

We therefore pray thee, help thy servants: whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood.

Make them to be numbered with thy saints: in glory everlasting.

O Lord, save thy people: and bless thine heritage.

Govern them : and lift them up for ever.

Day by day: we magnify thee.

And we worship thy Name : ever world without end.

Vouchsafe, O Lord: to keep us this day without sin.

O Lord, have mercy upon us: have mercy upon us.

O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us: as our trust is in thee.

O Lord, in thee have I trusted : let me never be confounded.

SECT. XV.—The Inthronization.

The Te Deum *being ended, the Queen will ascend the Theatre, and be lifted up into Her Throne by the*

Archbishop and Bishops, and other Peers of the Kingdom, and being Inthronized, *or placed therein, all the* Great Officers, *Those that bear the* Swords *and the* Sceptres, *and the rest of the* Nobles, *stand round about the steps of the Throne, and the Archbishop, standing before the Queen, saith;*

STAND firm, and hold fast from henceforth the Seat and State of Royal and Imperial Dignity, which is this day delivered unto you in the Name and by the Authority of Almighty God, and by the Hands of Us the Bishops and Servants of God, though unworthy: And as you see Us to approach nearer to God's Altar, so vouchsafe the more graciously to continue to Us your Royal Favour and Protection. And the Lord God Almighty, whose Ministers we are, and the Stewards of his Mysteries, establish your Throne in Righteousness, that it may stand fast for evermore, like as the Sun before Him, and as the faithful Witness in Heaven. *Amen.*

SECT. XVI.—The Homage.

The Exhortation being ended, all the Peers then present do their Homage publickly and solemnly unto the Queen upon the Theatre, and in the mean time the Treasurer of the Household throws among the People Medals of Gold and Silver, as the Queen's Princely Largess or Donative. **The Homage.**

The Archbishop first kneels down before Her Majesty's Knees, and the rest of the Bishops kneel on either Hand, and about him; and they do their Homage together, for the shortening of the Ceremony, the Archbishop saying: **Of the Bishops:**

I *WILLIAM* Archbishop *of Canterbury* [*And so every one of the rest*, I *N.* Bishop of *N. repeating the rest audibly after the Archbishop*] will be faithful and true, and Faith and Truth will bear, unto you our Sovereign Lady, and your Heirs Kings or Queens of the United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland.* And I will do, and truly acknowledge the Service of the Lands which I claim to hold of you, as in right of the Church. So help me God.

Then the Archbishop kisseth the Queen's Hand, and so the rest of the Bishops present after him.

Of the other Peers.

After which the other Peers of the Realm do their Homage in like manner, the Dukes first by themselves, and so the Marquesses, the Earls, the Viscounts, and the Barons, severally; the first of each Order kneeling before her Majesty, and the rest with and about him, all putting off their Coronets, and the first of each Class beginning, and the rest saying after him:

I *N.* Duke, or Earl, *&c.* of *N.* do become your Liege man of Life and Limb, and of earthly worship, and Faith and Truth I will bear unto you, to live and die, against all manner of Folk.

So help me God.

Note, *That Copies of this Homage must be provided by the Heralds for every Class of the Nobility.*

The Peers having done their Homage, stand all together round about the Queen; and each Class or Degree going by themselves, or (as it was at the Coronation of King Charles *the First and Second) every Peer one by one in Order, putting off their Coronets, singly ascend the Throne again, and stretching forth*

their hands, do touch the Crown on Her Majesty's Head, as promising by that Ceremony to be ever ready to support it with all their power, and then every one of them kisseth the Queen's Hand.

While the Peers are thus doing their Homage, and the Medals thrown about, the Queen, if She thinks good, delivers Her Sceptre *with the* Cross *to the Lord of the Manour of* Worksop, *to hold; and the other* Sceptre, *or* Rod, *with the* Dove, *to the Lord that carried it in the Procession.*

And the Bishops that support the Queen in the Procession may also ease Her, by supporting the Crown, as there shall be occasion.

During the performance of the Homage the Choir sing this

ANTHEM.[38]

THIS is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it.

Lord, grant the Queen a long life: that her years may endure throughout all generations.

She shall dwell before God for ever: O prepare thy loving mercy and faithfulness, that they may preserve her.

Blessed be the Lord thy God, who delighted in Thee to set Thee on the throne.

When the Homage is ended, the Drums beat, and the Trumpets sound, and all the People shout, crying out,

God save Queen VICTORIA.
Long live Queen VICTORIA.
May the Queen live for ever.

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[38] This anthem has varied in the different orders.

The Solemnity of the Coronation *being thus ended, the Archbishop leaves the Queen in Her Throne, and goes down to the Altar.*[39]

SECT. XVII.—The Communion.

Then the Offertory begins, the Archbishop reading these Sentences.

The Offertory.

LET your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven.

Charge them who are rich in this world, that they be ready to give, and glad to distribute; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may attain eternal life.[40]

The Queen descends from Her Throne, attended by Her Supporters, and assisted by the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Sword of State being carried before Her, and goes to the Steps of the Altar, where taking off Her Crown, which She delivers to the Lord Great Chamberlain to hold, She kneels down.[41]

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[39] Here follows "the Queen's Coronation" in those orders, for example of George the second and William the fourth, where it was required. The reader will find it at the end of the present order in the text.

[40] "*Then the organ plays, and the choir singeth, Anthem.* Let my prayer come up into thy presence as incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be as an evening sacrifice." Order of George the second.

[41] I have already made some remark upon this rubric in the preliminary dissertation: and shall merely repeat here that its introduction was most praiseworthy. In the preceding forms of William the fourth, George the fourth, &c. it stood thus:—

"The king descends from his throne, supported and attended as before; and goes to the steps of the altar, and kneels down there."

And first the Queen *offers* Bread *and* Wine *for the Communion, which being brought out of King* Edward's *Chapel, and delivered into Her Hands, the* Bread *upon the* Paten *by the* Bishop *that read the* Epistle, *and the* Wine *in the* Chalice *by the* Bishop *that read the* Gospel, *are by the Archbishop received from the* Queen, *and reverently placed upon the Altar, and decently covered with a fair linen Cloth, the Archbishop first saying this Prayer:* The Queen offers Bread and Wine.

BLESS, O Lord, we beseech thee, these thy Gifts, and sanctify them unto this holy use, that by them we may be made partakers of the Body and Blood of thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ, and fed unto everlasting life of Soul and Body: And that thy Servant Queen VICTORIA may be enabled to the discharge of her weighty Office, whereunto of thy great goodness thou hast called and appointed Her. Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

Then the Queen, kneeling as before, makes her second Oblation, a Purse *of* Gold, *which the* Treasurer *of the* Household *delivers to the* Lord Great Chamberlain, *and he to* Her Majesty. *And the Archbishop, coming to Her, receives it into the Bason, and placeth it upon the Altar.*[42]

After which the Archbishop says,

O GOD, who dwellest in the high and holy place, with them also who are of an humble

[42] The whole of the corresponding rubric and the succeeding prayer, although in the printed books of the order of George the fourth, appear to have been struck out before the actual solemnity of his coronation. They are erased, in the copy before me, with a pen, by the York herald.

spirit; Look down mercifully upon this thy Servant VICTORIA our Queen, here humbling Herself before Thee at thy Footstool; and graciously receive these *Oblations*, which in humble acknowledgement of thy Sovereignty over all, and of thy great Bounty to Her in particular, She has now offered up unto thee, through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

Then the Queen *goes to Her* Chair *on the South Side of the Altar, and kneeling down at Her Faldstool, the Archbishop saith:*

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.

Communion Office. ALMIGHTY and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men: We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to receive these our prayers which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty, beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord: and grant that all they that do confess thy holy Name, may agree in the truth of thy holy Word, and live in unity and godly love. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors; and specially thy Servant VICTORIA our Queen, that under her we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto her whole Council, and to all that are put in authority under her, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops and Curates, that they may

both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments: And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, and especially to this Congregation here present, that with meek heart and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy Word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy Name, for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

The Exhortation.

YE that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the Commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways; Draw near with faith, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort; and make your humble confession to Almighty God, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

The General Confession.

ALMIGHTY GOD, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, Judge of all men; We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and

wickedness, Which we from time to time most grievously have committed, By thought, word, and deed, Against thy Divine Majesty, Provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, And are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; The remembrance of them is grievous unto us; The burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; For thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, Forgive us all that is past, And grant that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee, In newness of life, To the honour and glory of thy name, Through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Absolution.

ALMIGHTY GOD our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance, and true faith, turn unto him; Have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

After which shall be said,

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him.

COME unto me, all ye that travail, and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. S. *Matth.* 11. 28.

So God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in

him should not perish, but have everlasting life. S. *John* 3. 16.

Hear also what Saint Paul saith.

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. 1 *Tim.* 1. 15.

Hear also what Saint John saith.

If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins. 1 S. *John* 2. 1.

After which the Archbishop shall proceed, saying,

Archb. Lift up your hearts.

Answ. *We lift them up unto the Lord.*

Archb. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answ. *It is meet and right so to do.*

Then shall the Archbishop turn to the Lord's Table, and say,

IT is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God:

WHO hast at this time given us thy Servant our Sovereign Queen VICTORIA to be the Defender of thy Faith, and the Protector of thy People; that under her we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all Godliness and Honesty.

THEREFORE with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of

hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. *Amen.*

The Prayer of Address.

WE do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table. But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy; Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the Flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his Blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his Body, and our souls washed through his most precious Blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

The Prayer of Consecration.

ALMIGHTY GOD, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious Death, until his coming again; Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of Bread and Wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his Death and Passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood:

who in the same night that he was betrayed (*a*) took bread, and when he had given thanks (*b*) he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, (*c*) this is my Body which is given for you, do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper (*d*) he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this (*e*) is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me. *Amen.*

(a) *Here the Archbishop is to take the paten into his hands:*

(b) *And here to break the bread:*

(c) *And here to lay his hand upon all the bread.*

(d) *Here he is to take the cup into his hand:*

(e) *And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it chalice or flagon) in which there is any wine to be consecrated.*

When the Archbishop, *and* Dean *of* Westminster, *with the* Bishops Assistants, *namely, the* Preacher, *and those who* read the Litany *and the* Epistle and Gospel, *have communicated in both kinds, the* Queen *advances to the Altar and kneels down, and the Archbishop shall administer the Bread, and the Dean of* Westminster *the Cup, to Her.* The Queen communicates.

At the Delivery of the Bread shall be said,

THE Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.

At the Delivery of the Cup.

THE Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Drink this in remem-

brance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.[41]

The Queen then puts on Her Crown, and taking the Sceptres in Her Hands again, repairs to Her Throne.[42]

Post-Communion.

Then the Archbishop *goeth on to the* Post-Communion, *saying,*

OUR Father, which art in heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

Then this Prayer.

O LORD and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants entirely desire thy Fatherly Goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his Blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his Passion. And

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[41] In all the orders which preceded that of king William the fourth we find this rubric or to the same effect: "While the king receives, the Bishop (Bishops, George the second, &c.) appointed for that service shall hold a towel of white silk, or fine linen, before him." Order of George the fourth.

I must again confess that I do not perceive the reason why it should have been, of late, omitted.

[42] Introduced for the first time in the order of the text.

here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee, that all we, who are partakers of this holy Communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

Then shall be said,

GLORY be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

The Choir then sing the following Anthem.[43]

ANTHEM.

HALLELUJAH: For the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. The kingdom of this World is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ. And he shall reign for ever and ever, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Hallelujah.

After the Anthem the Archbishop reads the final Prayers.

SECT. XVIII.—The final Prayers.

ASSIST us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation; that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O LORD our God, who upholdest and governest all things in Heaven and Earth; Receive our humble prayers, with our thanksgivings, for our Sovereign Lady VICTORIA, set over us by thy good providence to be our Queen: And so together with her bless ADELAIDE the Queen Dowager, and the rest of the Royal Family, that they ever trusting in thy goodness, protected by thy power, and crowned with thy favour, may continue before thee in health and peace, in joy and honour, a long and happy life upon earth, and after death may obtain everlasting life and glory in

[43] Introduced for the first time in the order in the text.

the kingdom of Heaven, through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ our Saviour; who with thee, O Father, and the Holy Spirit, liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTY God, who hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in thy Son's Name; We beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee, and grant that those things which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

THE peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. *Amen.*

SECT. XIX.—The Recess.

The Proceeding into King Edward's Chapel: Of the Queen.

THE whole Coronation Office being thus performed, the Queen *attended and accompanied as before, the four Swords being carried before Her, descends from Her Throne Crowned, and carrying Her* Sceptre *and* Rod *in Her Hands, goes into the Area Eastward of the Theatre, and passes on through the Door on the* South side *of the* Altar *into King* Edward's Chapel; *and as She passes by the Altar, the rest of the* Regalia, *lying upon it, are to be delivered by the* Dean *of* Westminster *to the Lords*

And standing there, the Chief Lady that attends Her takes off Her Circle of Gold,[2] *and She kneeleth down, and four Peeresses appointed for that Service, holding a rich Pall of Silk, or Cloth of Gold, over Her, the Archbishop poureth the Holy Oil upon the Crown of Her Head, saying these Words:*

IN the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Let the anointing with this Oil increase your honour, and the grace of God's Holy Spirit establish you, for ever and ever. *Amen.*[3]

After the Anointing the Archbishop saith this Prayer:

O MOST merciful God, pour out abundantly thy grace and blessing upon this thy Servant Queen ADELAIDE, that as by our Office and Ministry she is this day anointed, and solemnly

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[2] Among the "Necessaries to be provided by the Mr. of the Jewell House the daye of the king and queen's coronation," the first is: "A circle of gold for the queen to wear when she goeth to her coronation." MS. Cotton, Vesp. C. xiv.

[3] The reader will find in the preliminary dissertation some remarks on the ancient manner of anointing the queens of England, which was observed until the order for king William the fourth and queen Adelaide. The following is the rubric, &c. which follows the anointing of the head in the order for George the second and queen Caroline; with which the orders for George the third's queen and for the queen of James the second generally agree:—

"*Then the chief lady assistant openeth her apparel, for the anointing her on the breast; which the archbishop also performeth, using the same words:* Let the anointing with this oil, &c. *After the anointing the archbishop saith this prayer:* O most merciful, &c. *Then the same lady closeth the Queen's robe at the breast (having first dried the place anointed) and afterwards putteth a linen coif upon her head because of the anointing.*"

consecrated our *Queen*; so being sanctified by thy Holy Spirit, she may continue thy faithful and devout Servant, unto her life's end, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then the Archbishop receiveth from the Master of the Jewel Office the Queen's Ring, *and putteth it upon the Fourth Finger of Her Right Hand, saying,* The Ring.

RECEIVE this Ring, the seal of a sincere Faith; and God, to whom belongeth all Power and Dignity, prosper you in this your honour, and grant you therein long to continue, fearing him always, and always doing such things as shall please him, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then the Archbishop taketh the Crown from off the Altar into his hands, and reverently setteth it upon the Queen's Head, saying, The Crown.

RECEIVE the Crown of glory, honour, and joy; and God the Crown of the faithful, who by our Episcopal hands (though unworthy) doth this day set a Crown of pure Gold upon your head, enrich your Royal heart with his abundant grace, and crown you with all princely virtues in this life, and with an everlasting Crown of glory in the life which is to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Queen being crowned, all the Peeresses put on their Coronets.

Then the Archbishop putteth the Sceptre into the Queen's Right Hand, and the Ivory Rod with the Dove into Her Left Hand; and sayeth this Prayer: The Sceptre and Ivory Rod.

O LORD, the giver of all perfection, Grant unto this thy Servant ADELAIDE our Queen, that by the powerful and mild Influence of her Piety and Virtue, she may adorn the high Dignity which she hath obtained, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Queen being thus Anointed, *and* Crowned, *and having received all Her Ornaments, the Choir sing this following Anthem:*

ANTHEM.

HALLELUJAH: For the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. The kingdom of this World is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ. And he shall reign for ever and ever, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Hallelujah.

As soon as this Anthem *begins, the* Queen *ariseth and goeth from the Altar, supported by Her two Bishops, and so up to the Theatre. And as She passeth by the* King *on His Throne, She boweth Herself reverently to His Majesty, and then is conducted to Her Own Throne, and without any further Ceremony taketh Her place in it: Reposing Herself till She comes down, with the King, to receive the* Holy Communion.

Modus faciendi Tonsuras.

Modus faciendi tonsuras et coronas primas.[1]

IN prima ordinatione[2] clericorum, quæ potest fieri extra missam, quacunque hora ante prandium,[3] primo videndum est, et diligenter attendendum, quod sint liberi et legitimi diœcesis

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[1] In the notes to this office and that which succeeds, of conferring orders, I shall give the chief variations of the following manuscript pontificals: namely, the Bangor, the Winchester, and the Exeter. The first of these is unhappily mutilated in many parts of these offices; initial letters have been cut out, and of course with them much of the text upon the reverse of the leaves: and, moreover, the rubrics have been much rubbed and defaced.

As regards the arrangement of this first office "*ad clericum faciendum*" the Exeter pontifical does not place it immediately before the services of ordination, as in the text and the other manuscripts, but immediately succeeding the "Confirmatio puerorum," and before the "Dedicatio ecclesiarum." The reader will see this by referring to the table of the contents of that pontifical, in the dissertation on Service books. Such an arrangement is unusual: for although the other manuscripts do not agree in placing it next after the order of confirmation (as do the pontifical from which the text is taken and another in Trinity college, Dublin, MS. B. tab. 3. no. 7), yet they do not separate this first office from the other forms of ordination.

The title of this office in the Exeter pontifical is "Collatio primæ tonsuræ."

[2] This rubric is not in the Bangor, Winchester, and Exeter pontificals. In the MS. before me another paragraph follows (now omitted) which relates to those cases in which confirmation had been neglected at its proper period, early childhood; and some particulars relating to females are mixed up with it, not concerned with the giving of the tonsure.

[3] This is contrary to the order of the Roman pontifical, the

suæ,[4] *et ab episcopo confirmati, non conjugati, nec aliqua irregularitatis aut inhabilitatis*[5] *nota respersi. In quibus vero casibus episcopus potest dispensare primo cum eis dispenset, et si non sunt confirmati, confirmet eos ut supra.*[6]

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rubric of which allows that "*clericatus, seu prima tonsura, quocumque die, hora, et loco conferri potest.*" In his commentary upon this Catalani has fallen into an error, where he says that the tonsure "ex omnium scriptorum sententia, et ex recepta ecclesiæ praxi, quovis anni tempore, qualibet die, et hora, et loco conferri potest." *Comment. in pontif. Rom.* tom. 1. p. 49. That the Roman use knows no limit as to time for the conferring of the tonsure is evident from a comparison of the rubric at the commencement of the office "De minoribus ordinibus," concerning which last it is expressly stated to be lawfully conferred "in mane tantum."

[4] The general opinion of the canonists seems to be that a bishop might confer the tonsure (but not other orders, even the minor) out of his own diocese "subditis suis." This privilege however would be influenced by the custom of the time. The reader will find more remarks upon this subject in the preliminary dissertation.

[5] Under this head would fall ignorance, such as of the rudiments of the faith or to be unable to read or write. As to the first, from the earliest ages a knowledge of the creed was required of those who were to be baptized, and much more therefore of candidates for the ministry: as to the second, whatever the practice might have been, the theory in England always was that every clerk should be able at least to read: and this was the well-known test by which men were allowed "benefit of clergy." In the thirteenth century it was strictly forbidden by Boniface the eighth, "Ne quis episcopus infanti vel illiterato tonsuram clericalem conferret, ita ut qui contrafecerit, in eo in quo peccaverit puniatur, per unum annum a collatione clericalis tonsuræ dumtaxat noverit se suspensum." *De temp. ordin. cap. ult.*

[6] See vol. 1.

That confirmation should precede ordination to any rank or degree in the ministry of the church is a very ancient rule and, I doubt not, apostolic. To this effect it would certainly seem that we should interpret the eighth canon of the council of Nice: Περὶ τῶν ὀνομαζόντων μὲν ἑαυτοὺς Καθαρούς ποτε, πρυσερχομέ-

Modus faciendi tonsuras[7] *vel coronas primas, et ordinandi clericos genuflectentes*[8] *coram episcopo,*[9] *hoc modo:*

νων δὲ τῇ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε χειροθετουμένους αὐτοὺς μένειν οὕτως ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ. Some have understood this sentence of the canon to mean an imposition of hands by way of reconciliation only, or penance: others, that it enjoined a re-ordination. But the first is impossible, because the canon is speaking of some certain rite to be used only with regard to the Novatians, and none others; which was not true of penance or reconciliation. The suggestion as to reordination is equally erroneous: for the council expressly recognised the Novatian orders, leaving (as Beverege in his notes says) their bishops, bishops; and their priests, priests: and this learned writer appeals to the ancient scholiasts, Balsamon and Zonaras, upon the point. Cf. Beverege, *Pandect. canon.* tom. 1. p. 68; Annott. tom. 2. p. 67; and Routh, *Script. ecc. opusc.* tom. 2. p. 437. There is moreover no doubt that denial of the grace of confirmation was a chief heresy of the Novatians. St. Cornelius in his epistle to Fabius charges it against their leader, in a particular case: Theodoret declares the same: and as if to set the question as to the Nicene canon completely at rest, we have the contemporary order of the synod of Laodicea, in the year 320: "Quod ii, qui ex hæresibus, hoc est, Novatianis, . . . convertuntur, . . . non sunt admittendi priusquam omnem hæresin anathematizaverint, . . . et tunc deinceps eos, qui apud illos fideles dicebantur, fidei symbola discentes, et sancto Chrismate inunctos, sic sancto mysterio communicare." Compare the seventh canon of the second general council, and the scholia of Balsamon and Zonaras: Bevereg. *Pandect.* tom. 1. pp. 97, 455.

[7] The Winchester and Bangor manuscripts begin this office with the exhortation, "Oremus, dilectissimi," &c., called by the first, the "Præfatio;" by the second, the "Benedictio ad clericum faciendum." In the Exeter pontifical we have a beginning different from the other three: "*Præfatio ad coronam faciendam.* ℣. Adjutorium nostrum, &c. ℟. Qui fecit. Dominus vobiscum. *Oremus.* Oremus, dilectissimi," &c.

[8] "Ita vero necessariam ordinandis duxerunt genuflexionem antiqui patres, ut etiam dominicis diebus, ac toto paschali tempore, quo in genua procumbere nefas est, prohibitumque ex canone xx. Nicæno, suscep-

Sit nomen Domini benedictum.
Ex hoc.
Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.
Qui fecit.
Oratio.

Oremus, dilectissimi fratres, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, pro hoc famulo suo, qui ad deponendam comam capitis sui pro ejus amore, et exemplo beati Petri apostoli festinat, ut donet ei Spiritum sanctum, qui propositum religionis [10] in eo perpetue conservet, et a mundi impedimentis vel sæcularibus desideriis cor ejus defendat, ut sicut immutatur vultu, ita manus dextera sua ei virtutem perfectionis et boni operis tribuat incrementum, et

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turos ordines voluerint nonnisi genuflexione initiari. Quamobrem Alexander III. pontifex maximus relatus in cap. II, *De feriis*, ita inquit: 'In consecrationibus autem episcoporum, et clericorum ordinationibus, consecrans et consecraturus tantum genua flectere possunt, secundum quod consecrationis modus requirit.' Quæ verba referenda sunt ad discrimen jam superius explicatum. . . . Meminit denique memorati ritus et S. Ambrosius lib. vj. *Hexameron*, cap. ix. ubi [aliam] reddit rationem his plane verbis: 'Flexibile genu, quo præ cæteris Domini mitigatur offensa, ira mulcetur, gratia promovetur: unde ordinator, et ordinandus genua flectunt, ut divinam gratiam uterque digne promoveat, unus recipiat, alter conferat.'" Catalani, *Comment. in pontif. Rom.* tom. I. p. 62; cf. Goar, *Euchol.* p. 279. note 10.

[9] It does not appear that the bishop was of necessity to be fully vested, except he was about to perform this office during the celebration of the eucharist: when of course, on account of that holy service and not on account of the conferring the tonsure, it would be required. A manuscript in the Vatican cited by Catalani (*Comment. in pontif. Rom.* tom. I. p. 56) has a rubric very important on this point: "Prima tonsura potest dari omni tempore, sive in missa, sive extra missam, sive in mane, sive sero, dummodo episcopus habeat stolam, et ordinatus superpelliceum."

[10] The other pontificals, Bangor and Winchester, read "qui habitum religionis."

abjecta omni cæcitate humana, spirituales illi oculos aperiat, et lumen ei æternæ gloriæ concedat. Per Christum.

Sequitur psalmus.[11]

Conserva me, Domine, quoniam speravi in te; dixi Domino, Deus meus es tu; quoniam bonorum meorum non eges.

Sanctis, qui sunt in terra ejus: mirificavit omnes voluntates meas in eis.

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[11] The Sarum pontifical varies very considerably from hence down to the conclusion of the office from all the other manuscripts. I shall extract the remainder as it is in the Bangor use, with which, except some unimportant differences, the Winchester and the Exeter agree:—

"... æternæ gloriæ concedat. Qui vivit.

"*Deinde super tonsurandos ponatur superpelliceum, et dicat pontifex hanc orationem:* *

"Adesto, Domine, supplicationibus, &c.

"*Tunc omnes tonsurandi simul dicant:*

"Dominus pars hæreditatis meæ, &c.

"*Tunc incipiatur ps.* Conserva me, Domine, &c., *et repetatur psalmus usque ad illum versum*, Dominus pars hæreditatis.

"*Tunc quilibet tonsurandorum per se dicat eundem versum:* Dominus pars.

"*Interim pontifex ter incidat aliquam partem de capillis, primo dicens:* In nomine Patris; *secundo:* et Filii: *tertio:* et Spiritus sancti.

"*Omnibus vero sic tonsis, dicatur residua pars psalmi, cum* Gloria Patri. *Quo finito, omnes tonsurati dicant simul hunc versum:* Dominus pars.

"*Postea incipiatur antiphona:* Hic accipiet benedictionem, &c.

"*Ps.* Domini est terra.

"*Sequitur oratio.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, &c.

"*Oratio.* Præsta, quæsumus."

The Winchester pontifical omits from the psalm "Conserva" down to the antiphon, "Hic accipiet."

The Bangor manuscript adds a rubric similar to the last of the office in the text: "*Deinde pontifex aspergat tonsuratos aqua benedicta, et roget eos ut orent pro eo, et præcipue si superstites fuerint die obitus sui.*"

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* This rubric occurs only in the Bangor MS.

Multiplicatæ sunt infirmitates eorum: postea acceleraverunt.

Non congregabo conventicula eorum de sanguinibus: nec memor ero nominum eorum per labia mea.

Hic quilibet ordinandus per se dicat:

Dominus pars hæreditatis meæ, et calicis mei: tu es, qui restitues hæreditatem meam mihi.

Interim episcopus incidat ter aliquam partem de capillis, primo dicens,

In nomine Patris,

Secundo,

Et Filii,

Tertio,

Et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Tunc dicitur residua pars psalmi.

Funes ceciderunt mihi in præclaris: etenim hæreditas mea præclara est mihi.

Benedicam Dominum qui tribuit mihi intellectum: insuper et usque ad noctem increpuerunt me renes mei.

Providebam Dominum in conspectu meo semper; quoniam a dextris est mihi ne commovear.

Propter hoc lætatum est cor meum, et exultavit lingua mea: insuper et caro mea requiescet in spe.

Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno: nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.

Notas mihi fecisti vias vitæ, adimplebis me lætitia cum vultu tuo: delectationes in dextera tua usque in finem.

Gloria Patri. Sicut.

Deinde repetatur antiphona:

Tu es, Domine, qui restitues hæreditatem meam mihi.

Sequatur oratio cum,

Oremus.

Præsta, quæsumus omnipotens Deus, ut hi famuli tui, quorum hodie comas capitum pro amore divino deposuimus, in tua dilectione perpetuo maneant, ut eos sine macula gratia tua in sempiternum custodiat. Per Christum.

Finita oratione sequatur psalmus.

Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus.

Gloria Patri.

Antiphona.

Hic accipiet benedictionem a Domino, et misericordiam a Deo salutari suo: quia hæc est generatio quærentium Dominum.

Oremus.

Adesto, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, et hos famulos tuos benedicere dignare, quibus in tuo nomine sancto habitum sanctæ religionis imponimus, ut te largiente devoti in ecclesia tua persistere, et vitam percipere mereantur æternam. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Tunc si habeatur superpelliceum, sumat episcopus illud in manu sua, et ponat circa colla singulorum dicens:

Induat te Dominus novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est, in justitia, et sanctitate veritatis. Amen.

Et si non habeatur superpelliceum, illa induitio omittatur.

Et episcopus prosequatur hoc modo:

Pax vobis,

vel tecum.

Oremus.

Oratio.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, propitiare peccatis nostris, et ab omni servitute sæcularis habitus hos famulos tuos emunda, ut dum ignominiam sæcularis habitus deponunt, semper in ævum gratia perfruantur, et sicut similitudinem coronæ tuæ eos gestare facimus in capitibus, sic tua virtute hæreditatem subsequi mereantur æternam in cordibus. Per Dominum.

His finitis, aspergat episcopus tonsuratos aqua benedicta, et roget eos orare pro eo aliquid certum, et præcipue si superstites fuerint die obitus sui, et sic data benedictione recedant.[12]

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[12] In the pontifical of archbishop Egbert (preceding the services for ordination) is a very short form of appointing, rather than ordaining, a choir boy: which might be done by the parish priest when necessary. It shows the great care taken from the earliest times to teach us that even the lowly offices of the church were to be undertaken only after due admonition and in a right spirit:—

"*Psalmista, id est cantor, posteaquam ab archidiacono instructus fuerit, potest absque conscientia episcopi, sola jussione presbyteri, officium suscipere cantandi, dicente sibi presbytero;* Vide ut quod ore cantas corde credas, et quod corde credis operibus probes." p. 10.

Celebratio Ordinum.

Celebratio Ordinum.[1]

IN celebratione ordinum in adventu Domini, et cæteris temporibus anni, mane vel ante præmuniantur ordinandi, quod pure de peccatis sint confessi, et qui in sacerdotali ordine esse voluerint præparent se communioni. Omnes etiam provideant de vestibus sacris sibi necessariis, et quod tonsuram habeant competentem.

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[1] The titles, as well as the beginnings of this office, vary considerably in the manuscripts. The Bangor pontifical is very short: and also mutilated in this place. But so far as it can be read it is as follows:—

"*Qualiter ordines agantur . . . dicat archidiaconus:* Accedant qui ordinandi sunt ostiarii. *Tunc accedant immediate . . .: tradat eis episcopus claves ecclesiæ dicens:* Sic agite, quasi reddituri Deo rationem pro iis rebus, quæ istis clavibus recluduntur. *Tunc ducat eos archidiaconus ad ostium ecclesiæ, et tradat eis ostium. Præfatio ostiariorum.* Deum Patrem, &c. Oremus. *Et diaconus.* Flectamus genua. Levate. *Oratio.* Domine sancte," &c.

The following is the order of the Winchester manuscript:—

"*Hoc modo ordinandi sunt ostiarii: lectores: exorcistæ: acolyti: subdiaconi: diaconi: sacerdotes. Mense primò: quarto: septimo: decimo. Postquam chorus officium et kyriel' ex more finierit, introducantur omnes ordinandi, ab archidiacono, vocati ex nomine, ante domnum præsulem.*

"*Tunc his verbis unus ex archidiaconis dicat ad præsulem:*

"Postulat hæc sancta ecclesia, &c. *Responsio episcopi:* Vide ut, &c. *Archidiaconus:* Quantum, &c.

"*Tunc fiat sermo ab episcopo communiter ad omnes de castitate, de abstinentia, et his similibus virtutibus: terribiliter interdicens, ne quis ad sacros ordines venire præsumat, qui pecuniam dare vel promittere præsumpserit; ne cum Simone mago non benedictionem sed maledictionem inveniat.*

"*Postea publice omnibus qui ad sacros ordines conveniunt, dicat:* Auxiliante Domino," &c.

The Exeter pontifical begins:—

"*Qualiter ordines generales*

Quando ordines agantur primo fiat sermo si placeat, postea fiant inhibitiones sequentes, si sint generales ordines et episcopo placuerit, ad terrorem male subintrantium sub hac forma.

Ex parte Dei omnipotentis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, et sub pœna excommunicationis majoris, inhibemus ne aliquis ligatus impedimentis infra scriptis, contra decreta sanctorum patrum, ingerat se ad ordines recipiendos.

Primo ergo, secundo, et tertio, monemus et inhibemus sub pœna anathematis, ne quis se ingerat ordinandum, nisi prius examinata persona cum titulo matriculatus et infra scriptus fuerit et vocatus. Ne quis etiam mortalis peccati conscius, vel excommunicatus, aut suspensus, ordines recipiat, nisi prius potestatem habenti confiteatur et debite absolvatur. Ne autem ignorans ignoretur irregulares, qui secundum sacros canones ab ordinibus prohibentur, duximus seriatim et per ordinem specificandos.

Quicunque homicida. Item ecclesiarum incendiarius, seu earum fractor violenter. Item advocatus in causa sanguinis, vel notorie perjurus. Item executor sævorum tormentorum in publicis administrationibus. Item simoniacus, qui quodcumque beneficium aut titulum illicite adeptus, vel religionem taliter est ingressus. Item inventor vel fautor simoniacarum pactionum. Item apostata a fide vel religione, non reconciliatus. Item qui ab episcopis hæreticis, et schismaticis, gratiam sedis apostolicæ non

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agantur. Primo fiat sermo si est dicendus. Postea fiant inhibitiones sequentes in generalibus ordinibus, si episcopo placuerit, ad terrorem male subintrantium. Ex parte Dei omnipotentis," &c.

The chief variations of this pontifical will be noticed as we proceed.

habentibus, scienter alias ordines recepit. Item qui sub falso titulo vel ficto, aut alias pacto inito cum suo præsentatore de hujusmodi titulo postquam ordinatus fuerit, eidem restituendo vel alias occasione hujusmodi eundem non inquietando, vel qui annuam pensionem vel quodcunque emolumentum temporale præsentanti, vel promotionem procuranti, sub quocunque promiserit colore. Item per saltum ad alios ordines promotus. Item prius conjugatus, nisi hoc faciat in casu a jure permisso. Item nullus qui excommunicatus scienter ordines recepit alias, et in susceptis ministrare præsumpsit. Item bigamus, vel corruptarum maritus. Item Deo sacratarum virginum violator. Item nullus sortilegus, vel nigromanticus, vel prohibitarum artium doctor, sive fautor. Item morbo sontico, vel caduco, vel lunatico, vel alio incurabili laborans, vel corpore vitiatus. Item illegitimus, nisi fuerit cum eo sufficienter dispensatum. Item servus nativus, præter conscientiam et voluntatem domini sui. Item nullus alterius diœcesis, nisi literas dimissorias habuerit, ac etiam titulum sufficientem. Item inhibemus quod nullus ordinem subdiaconatus recipiat, nisi sit ætatis octodecim annorum, diaconatus viginti, presbyteratus viginti quatuor, et vicesimum quintum annum attigerit. Item nullus religiosus de jure vel facto non professus. Item nullus curatus beneficiatus, qui infra annum non fuerit ordinatus in presbyterum, a tempore curæ susceptæ et pacificæ possessionis adeptæ, nisi ex dispensatione, qua etiam rite sit usus juxta constitutionem *cum ex eo*. Item nullus sine vero titulo, vel cujus titulus ad non titulum est redactus, nisi in gratia speciali.[2] Quibus omnibus et singulis,

[2] "*Nisi ex nostra gratia speciali.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

durantibus impedimentis supradictis, ut ab hujusmodi ordinum susceptione se abstineant, quousque cum eis sufficienter fuerit dispensatum, præcipimus sub pœna excommunicationis majoris superius annotata.

Et bene caveatur de omni mutilatione membrorum ordinandorum in sacris. Ne sint etiam gibbosi, vel mansi, vel alias corpore vitiati, propter scandalum cleri et ecclesiæ evitandum.[3]

Sciendum est quod episcopus, per totum annum in dominicis, vel festis apostolorum, et aliis duplicibus, cum missam celebrat, si voluerit et necesse fuerit, potest ordinare acolytos, unum vel duos, et paucos vel raros. Sed non de jure potest, nec debet, eundem acolytum et subdiaconum eadem die ordinare. Quia nunc in ecclesia quatuor minores ordines, scilicet, ostiarii, lectores, exorcistæ, et acolytatus simul conferuntur, quod olim in primitiva ecclesia separatim fiebat. Et tunc licuit unum illorum minorum ordinum, scilicet, acolytatum, eadem die dare cum subdiaconatu. Nunc vero non licet nec expedit, quia

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[3] "*Præmuniantur omnes ordinandi quod non recedant ante finem missæ.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

The Exeter pontifical omits the next three long paragraphs, and proceeds immediately to the office, with the mass proper to it; as follows:—

"*Statuto die ordinum generalium, dicto introitu missæ cum* Kyrie eleison. *Et in oratione et ordine pro ordinandis qui sequitur.*

"Exaudi, quæsumus Domine, supplicum preces, et devoto tibi pectore famulantes perpetua defensione custodi: ut nullis perturbationibus impediti, liberam servitutem tuis semper exhibeamus officiis. Per Dominum. *Sub uno.* Per Dominum.

"*Tunc sedeat episcopus ante medium altaris, et introducantur omnes ordinandi, et stent similiter ante episcopum. Tunc unus archidiaconus voce sonora per modum lectionis versus ad episcopum dicat:*

"Postulat sancta mater ecclesia, pater, hos viros," &c.

sancti patres quondam magno dicebant minimum ordinem recipere.

Legitur in vita sancti Martini, quod cum beatus Hilarius, Pictavensis episcopus, eum diaconum facere vellet, non consensit, se indignum tanto gradu reputans, exorcistam tamen se fieri vix consensit. Unde valde mirandum et magis dolendum, quomodo his diebus a statu laicali, infra annum ad statum ascenditur presbyterii supremum, cum ad minus per annum integrum in omni ordine suscepto ministrare debeant, et se exercere ut digni et probati ad superiora ascendere mereantur, cum nemo repente fiat summus. Si ergo acolytatum et subdiaconatum eadem die conferre non licet, nec a multo fortiori, subdiaconatum simul et diaconatum, nec diaconatum et presbyteratum, secundum decreta primum quia graviter essent tam ordinator quam ordinatus sint pariter puniendi.

Quatuor temporibus ergo, scilicet, sabbato in hebdomada tertia adventus, sabbato in hebdomada prima quadragesimæ, sabbato in hebdomada pentecostes, quod est vigilia sanctæ Trinitatis, et sabbato illo in septembri quod sequitur octavam nativitatis beatæ Mariæ post festum sanctæ crucis, generaliter potest episcopus sacros ordines celebrare. Si vero his temporibus impeditus fuerit, et necesse sit, in sabbato ante dominicam passionis quod dicitur "Sitientes," et in sabbato quod est in vigilia paschæ, sacros potest ordines ministrare. Alias autem nunquam.

Celebratio ordinum die sabbati quatuor temporum.

In adventu Domini.

Ad missam,[4] *Officium.*

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[4] There can be no question that from the primitive ages the conferring of holy orders has always been accompanied by,

Veni et ostende nobis faciem tuam, Domine: qui sedes super Cherubin, et salvi erimus.

Ps. Qui regis Israel intende: qui deducis velut ovem Joseph.

Dum officium canitur, vocentur nominatim illi qui ordinandi sunt acolyti,[5] *quibus vocatis, et introductis, sequatur oratio sine* Dominus vobiscum, *sed tantum*

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and formed a part of, the administration of the eucharist. Not to mention the eighth book of the Apostolical constitutions, it has been argued that we have the authority of the sacred Scripture for the necessity, if I may say so, of this observance. We read in the acts of the apostles, "As they were ministering to the Lord, and fasting, the Holy Ghost said to them, Separate me Saul and Barnabas for the work whereunto I have called them. Then they, fasting and praying, and imposing their hands upon them, sent them away." The original is λειτουργούντων, a term which not only in the other parts of the new Testament but in the fathers is always used, unless qualified by the context, "pro ministerio sacrificii:" and hence the name itself of "Liturgy." In the translation by Erasmus λειτουργούντων is rendered "sacrificantibus."

An obvious reason for this would of course be from the probability of the presence of large numbers of both people and clergy: which in the primitive church, even during the times of persecution, was looked upon as necessary. Thus St. Cyprian says that Cornelius was consecrated "de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc affuit, suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum consensu." *Epist.* 52. And again he explains why this should be: "Coram omni synagoga jubet Deus constitui sacerdotem: id est instruit, et ostendit, ordinationes sacerdotales nonnisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsente, vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur, et sit ordinatio justa, et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata." *Epist.* 68.

[5] I may remark, that very anciently in the Latin church, as we learn from the sacramentary of Gregory, the greater orders were conferred before the reading of the gospel, and the minor after the communion. But the later practice is of high antiquity, as is shown by Menard from an old ordo Romanus, and from other early manuscripts, in his notes to that sacramentary, p. 271.

cum Oremus, *et omnes orationes sine* Dominus vobiscum *dicantur, præter ultimam ante epistolam.*

Oratio.

Deus, qui conspicis quia ex nostra pravitate affligimur, concede propitius, ut ex tua visitatione consolemur. Qui vivis.

Deinde sedeat episcopus ante altare conversus ad ordinandos, et archidiaconus[6] *capa indutus humiliter respiciens in episcopum cum his verbis alloquatur, ita dicens, stando et quasi episcopum salutando, cum nota, et quasi more lectionis legendo.*

Postulat hæc sancta ecclesia, reverende pater, hos viros ordinibus aptos consecrari sibi a vestra paternitate.

Resp. episcopi.

Vide ut natura, scientia, et moribus, tales per te introducantur, immo tales per nos in domo Domini ordinentur personæ, per quas diabolus procul pellatur, et clerus Deo nostro multiplicetur.

Resp. archidiaconi.

Quantum ad humanum spectat examen, natura, scientia, et moribus digni habentur, ut probi cooperatores effici in his, Deo volente, possint.

Quibus expletis, dicat episcopus hanc orationem publice, stando, sine nota :[7]

Auxiliante Domino et salvatore nostro Jesu Christo, præsentes fratres nostri in sacrum ordinem

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[6] "Docent tum patres, tum veteres synodi, præsertim IV. Carthaginiensis, archidiaconorum quidem esse munus ordinandos vocandi, ac præsentandi episcopo ordinatori, uti videre est in canone *Ostiarius*, distinctione XXIV. et in cap. *Ut nostrum*, extra, *de officio archidiaconi*." Catalani, *In pontif. Rom.* tom. I. p. 52.

[7] "*Tunc episcopus mediocri voce :*" Rubr. *Pontif. Exon.*

electi sunt a nobis, et clericis huic sanctæ sedi famulantibus. Alii ad officium presbyterii, diaconii, vel subdiaconii, quidam vero ad cæteros ecclesiasticos gradus. Proinde admonemus et postulamus, tam vos clericos quam cæterum populum, ut pro nobis et pro illis, puro corde et sincera mente apud divinam clementiam intercedere dignemini, quatenus nos dignos faciat pro illis exaudiri: et eos unumquemque in suo ordine eligere, et consecrare per manus nostras dignetur. Siquis autem habet aliquid contra hos viros, pro Deo et propter Deum, cum fiducia exeat et dicat, verumtamen memor sit communionis suæ.[8]

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[8] "*Deinde pontifex et qui ab eo consecrandi sunt prosternantur super pavimentum: et sic agatur litania; et inter cætera dicatur:*

"Ut fratres istos, ad sacrum ordinem electos, in vera religione conservare digneris: te rogamus, audi nos.

"*His ita expletis, exeant omnes. Deinde postquam episcopus finierit primam orationem missæ, finita quoque prima lectione et gradali, iterum introducantur qui ordinandi sunt ostiarii, vocati ex nomine. Et tunc fiat sermo ab episcopo ad eos, hoc modo:*

"Ostiarius fieri dignatus est Christus, quando conclusit et aperuit archam Noe: vel cum portas inferni aperuit, et electos suos inde abstulit, reprobos autem reliquit. Unde modo ostiarii dicuntur, eo quod præsint ostiis ecclesiæ, ut sciant recipere fideles, et infideles respuere. Psalmistæ vocantur a psalmis canendis: ipsi enim canunt ut excitent ad compunctionem mentes audientium.

"*Tunc episcopus postquam ab eis requisierit, sub testimonio ecclesiæ si talem ordinem subire, et in eo Deo humiliter servire voluerint, tradat eis claves ecclesiæ: scilicet potestatem claudendi et aperiendi ostia ecclesiæ. Ita dicens:*

"Sic agite," &c. *Pontif. Winton.* With these and the succeeding exhortations, which will be cited in the notes, compare St. Isidore Hisp., *Originum* lib. vij. The beginning of the address is also to be found in Egbert's pontifical; the Winchester MS. shows a form between that and the Sarum.

The reader has already seen, note 1, that the Bangor MS. has no general exhortation, &c. for

Tunc dicat archidiaconus:

Accedant qui ordinandi sunt ostiarii.

Tunc accedant immediate antequam lectio legatur, vel gradale, ad consecrandum.

Episcopus sedens cum mitra eos instruendo dicat, sine nota:

Ostiarium oportet[9] percutere cymbalum, aperire ecclesiam, et sacrarium, et librum tenere ei qui prædicat.

Et cum ordinantur, surgens tradat eis episcopus claves ecclesiæ, et ipsi eas ambabus manibus recipiant,

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all who were to be ordained to whatever order, but commences at once with the "ostiarii."

In the Exeter pontifical, the notice "Auxiliante" is followed by "*Tunc fiat sermo, si est dicendus. Sermone dicto fiat prohibitio, ne aliquis recipiat ordines nisi examinatus et admissus per examinatores legitime deputatos:* &c. *Quibus præmissis, exeant omnes ordinandi, quibus egressis dicat archidiaconus:*

"Accedant qui ordinandi sunt ostiarii.

"*Tunc accedant,*" &c.

[9] Besides the larger and more general admonitions which were addressed according to the judgment of the bishop either to all the candidates together or to all of each order, previously to the commencement of the service itself, it has always been the practice from the earliest ages, of which any rituals remain, to admonish the candidates again briefly in some set form before the actual conferring of each order. Thus it was the subject of the third canon of the third council of Carthage, A.D. 390: "Item placuit, ut ordinandis episcopis, vel clericis, prius ab ordinatoribus suis decreta conciliorum auribus eorum inculcentur, ne se aliquid contra statuta concilii fecisse asserant." *Concil.* edit. Mansi, tom. 3. col. 880. And again, a few years after, in the famous fourth council of Carthage which forms a basis upon which succeeding ordinals have been framed, the ninth canon has especial reference to this point, as concerned the "ostiarii," the lowest order ordained by a bishop: "Ostiarius cum ordinatur, postquam ab archidiacono instructus fuerit, qualiter in domo Dei debeat conversari, ad suggestionem archidiaconi, tradat ei episcopus claves." *Ibid.* col. 951.

et dicat eis plane episcopus, stando et sine nota. Et si sint multi, stent in circuitu, et episcopus circumeat eos, sæpius idem repetendo.

Sic agite, quasi reddituri Deo rationem pro iis rebus,[10] quæ istis clavibus recluduntur.

Tunc ducat eos[11] *archidiaconus ad ostium ecclesiæ,*[12]

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[10] ". . . rebus, quæ ecclesiæ vobis commissæ clavibus includuntur." *Pontif. Winton.*

[11] "*Deinde archidiaconus ducat eos ad ostium ecclesiæ: et faciat eos claudere et aperire. Postquam iterum ante domnum præsulem fuerint introducti, dicat episcopus hanc orationem:* Deum Patrem," &c. *Pontif. Winton.*

"*Et archidiaconus ducat eos ad ostium ecclesiæ, quod claudant et aperiant, et revertentes stent ante gradus sicut prius. Cum autem redierint, episcopus stans juxta cornu altaris, versus austrum, extendens manum supra ordinandos, dicat orationem:* Deum Patrem," &c. *Pontif. Exon.*

[12] This ceremony was of later introduction than the delivery of the keys: although of such antiquity that it was introduced into the ordinal of the western Church before the conversion of the Saxons by St. Augustine. Hence there is no pontifical extant, of English use, in which it does not occur. Neither the Carthaginian council, just cited, nor the Gelasian sacramentary, mentions it: but it is found in the Gregorian sacramentary, and in some very ancient MSS. still extant. A MS. pontifical, cited by Martene (*De ant. ecc. rit.* tom. 2. p. 18), directed the bishop not to deliver the keys to the candidates, but only to show them to them. I need scarcely perhaps remind the reader that these keys were not the keys which were afterwards to be used, in the particular churches to which the ostiarii were to be ordained, but any keys; and of any material; provided only (say the canonists) that in shape and form they were keys, apt and able to open some lock.

The Roman pontifical has introduced another ceremony in this place, one which is allowed to be modern and for which no authority can be found in the earlier rituals: "Tradit etiam eis funem campanarum, faciens eos campanas pulsare." It was, doubtless, the duty of the ostiarii to ring the bells of the church, but not in the earliest ages: for then it was part of the office of the priest; as Amalarius says: "Ne despiciat presbyter hoc opus agere, ut in isto sit imitator filiorum Aaron." *De ecc. off.* lib. 3.

et tradat eis ostium præfero ostiario, quibus reversis, dicat episcopus cum nota, stando, præfationem ad eos conversus, hoc modo.

Deum Patrem omnipotentem, fratres carissimi, suppliciter deprecemur, ut hos famulos suos bene✠dicere dignetur, quos in officium ostiariorum eligere dignatus est, ut sit eis fidelissima cura diebus ac noctibus ad distinctionem horarum certarum, ad invocandum nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, bene✠dicere dignare hos famulos tuos in officio ostiariorum, ut inter janitores ecclesiæ tuæ pareant obsequio: et inter electos tuos partem tuæ mereantur habere mercedis. Per Dominum.[13]

Omnes lectiones cum suis titulis legantur.

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cap. I. And in Charlemagne's capitular is an express order: "Ut sacerdotes signa tangant horis canonicis." Lib. vj. cap. 168. But long before the fifteenth century this duty, as I have said, had devolved upon the ostiarii; and there is a very plain reference to it in the preface which almost immediately follows in the text. Probably the ceremony of giving them the bells (if I may so call it) was added in the revised Roman pontifical, in order to supply what appeared to be an omission.

[13] "*Tunc exeant omnes ostiarii.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Winton.*

The Bangor MS. is both defaced and mutilated: no more can be read here than :—

"Accedant qui ordinand. . . . . . Accipite et estote verbi," &c.

The Exeter pontifical does not include the particulars of the proper mass: it proceeds therefore :—

"*Tunc sedeat episcopus, et legatur lectio prima, cum graduali, quibus dictis sequitur.* Oremus. *Et dicitur secunda oratio, qua dicta dicat archidiaconus:* Recedant qui ordinati sunt ostiarii: accedant qui ordinandi sunt lectores. *Tunc episcopus sedens dicit eis:* Lectorem oportet," &c.

Lectio Isaiæ prophetæ.

In diebus illis: Clamabunt ad Dominum a facie tribulantis: et mittet eis salvatorem et propugnatorem qui liberet eos. Et cognoscetur Dominus ab Ægypto: et cognoscent Ægyptii Dominum in die illa. Et colent eum in hostiis et muneribus, et vota vovebunt Domino, et solvent. Et percutiet Dominus Ægyptum plaga: et sanabit eam. Et revertentur ad Dominum et placabitur eis et sanabit eos: Dominus Deus noster.

Gr. A summo cœlo egressio ejus; et occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus.

V. Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei, et opera manuum ejus annunciat firmamentum.

Oratio.

Concede quæsumus omnipotens Deus, ut qui sub peccati jugo ex vetusta servitute deprimimur, ex peccatis unigeniti Filii tui nova nativitate liberemur. Qui tecum.

Dicta oratione, statim dicat archidiaconus:

Accedant qui ordinandi sunt lectores.

Tunc immediate accedant antequam lectio legatur, et episcopus sedendo sine nota eis dicat:

Lectorem[14] oportet legere quæ prædicat, et lec-

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[14] "*Post hæc, finita secunda oratione, et secunda lectione cum gradali, vocentur ex nomine qui ordinandi sunt lectores. Tunc exponat eis episcopus officium ordinis sui, quod sunt suscepturi:*

"Lectoribus in ecclesia verba sacræ legis et prophetarum legendi datur potestas. Horum talis debet esse vita, ut quod ore annunciant, bonis operibus compleant. Et in his quæ prædicant, cæteros superemineant. Habent autem exordium a veteri testamento. Legitur vero ita: Stetit Esdras scriba super gradum ligneum quem fecerat ad loquendum; et universum eminebat populum. Stat super gradum ligneum, unde infimos supereminet, qui dominicam passionem imitando, cæteros morum probi-

tiones cantare distincte, et benedicere panem et omnes fructus novos.

Et stando, vel circumeundo, tradat eis codicem divinarum lectionum quem recipient inter manus, dicente episcopo sine nota, et sæpius si oportet repetendo, et hoc stando, sic:

Accipite,[15] et estote verbi Dei relatores, habituri, si fideliter et devote impleveritis officium vestrum, partem cum iis qui verbum Dei ministraverint.[16]

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tate transcendit. Et quicunque aliquem bonis moribus instruit, lectoris officio fungitur. Hoc vero Dominus noster functus est officio, cum ingressus synagogam traditus est ei liber Isaiæ prophetæ.

"*Postea tradat eis lectionarium in quo lecturi sunt, dicens:*

"Accipite et estote," &c. *Pontif. Winton.*

[15] The Bangor use, in this form, is the same as that in the text: but both the Winchester and Exeter pontificals have the following after the word "ministraverint" (I take the text of the Winchester book):—

"Eligunt vos fratres vestri: ut sitis lectores in domo Domini Dei vestri, et agnoscatis officium vestrum, et impleatis illud. Potens est enim Deus, ut augeat vobis gratiam, qui cum Patre:" &c.

[16] We again have the authority of the primitive ages for this part of the office. The following is the eighth canon of the fourth council of Carthage:—

"Lector cum ordinatur, faciat de illo verbum episcopus ad plebem, indicans ejus fidem, ac vitam, atque ingenium. Post hæc, spectante plebe, tradat ei codicem, de quo lecturus est, dicens ad eum: Accipe, et esto lector verbi Dei, habiturus, si fideliter et utiliter impleveris officium, partem cum eis qui verbum Dei ministraverint." Mansi, *Concil.* tom. 3. col. 951.

The student will observe that in this canon the form is in the singular number; as also above, see note 9. But this variation in the earliest ages was, in a manner, optional: and in MSS. of the same date we find the forms of ordination sometimes in the singular, sometimes in the plural. If only one person was to be ordained the plural form was of course to be changed into the singular.

St. Cyprian in his 33rd epistle alludes to the address which was previously to be made to the people: "*Ad clerum et plebem de Aurelio lectore ordinato. . . .*

Sequitur præfatio[17] *lectorum cum nota.*

Oremus, dilectissimi, Deum Patrem omnipotentem, ut super hos famulos suos, quos in ordinem lectorum dignatur assumere, bene✠dictionem suam clementer effundat: quatenus distincte legant quæ in ecclesia Dei legenda sunt, et eadem operibus impleant.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, bene✠dicere dignare hos famulos tuos in officio lectorum, ut assiduitate lectionum distincti[18] sint atque ordinati,[19] et agenda dicant, et dicta opere compleant,

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In ordinationibus clericis, fratres carissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores, ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare." *Opera,* p. 46.

Although the general vessels and ornaments of the church were delivered to the care of the ostiarii, it would yet seem from the Acts of the African persecution under Diocletian that the holy Scriptures were given into the custody of the "lectores." For the answer of several bishops who were required to surrender the sacred books is there said to have been "Scripturas lectores habent." And another remarkable reply of two subdeacons: "Plus non habemus quia subdiaconi sumus, sed lectores habent codices." Cf. Catalani, *Comment.* tom. 1. p. 84. Therefore, probably, the chief ignominy of the term "traditores" would have lain against the "lectores:" although Bingham in his *Antiquities,* upon a wide interpretation of a canon of the first council of Arles, extends it to all who betrayed or gave up any of the goods or utensils of the church. Book xvi. cap. vj. (vol. 6. p. 125.)

17 "*Præfatio lectorum.*" *Rubr. pontif. Bangor.*

"*Sequitur oratio.*" *Rubr. pontif. Winton.*

"*Tunc rediens ad cornu altaris, sicut prius versus austrum super ordinandos dicat.*" *Rubr. pontif. Exon.*

18 The Roman use reads "instructi." The English pontificals (Exeter excepted) retained the term, derived anciently from the Gregorian sacramentary.

19 ". . . ordinati, earum mo-

ut in utroque sanctæ ecclesiæ exemplo sanctitatis suæ consulant. Per Dominum.[20]

Lectio Isaiæ prophetæ.

Hæc dicit Dominus, lætabitur deserta et invia, et exultabit solitudo, et florebit quasi lilium. Germinans germinabit, et exultabit lætabunda et laudans. Gloria Libani data est ei: decor Carmeli et Saron. Ipsi videbunt gloriam Domini: et decorem Dei nostri. Confortate manus dissolutas: et genua debilia roborate. Dicite, pusillanimes confortamini: et nolite timere. Ecce Deus vester ultionem adducet retributionis: Deus ipse veniet et salvabit vos. Tunc aperientur oculi cæcorum, et aures surdorum patebunt. Tunc saliet sicut cervus claudus: et aperta erit lingua mutorum. Quia scissæ sunt in deserto aquæ: et torrentes in solitudine. Et quæ erat arida in stagnum: et sitiens in fontes aquarum. Dicit Dominus: Omnipotens.

Gr. In sole posuit tabernaculum suum, et ipse tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo.

V. A summo cœlo egressio ejus, et occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus.

Oratio.

Indignos nos, quæsumus Domine, famulos tuos,

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dulis spirituali devotione gratiam resonent ecclesiæ. Per." *Pontif. Winton.*

20 "*Tunc exeant lectores. Et postquam tertia oratio missæ et tertia lectio cum gradali finierint, vocentur ex nomine omnes qui ordinandi sunt exorcistæ.*" *Pontif. Winton.*

"*Tunc . . . lectione . . . responsorio et oratione* [?] *dicat archidiaconus:* Accedant qui ordinandi sunt exorcistæ." *Pontif. Bangor.*

"*Tunc sedeat episcopus: et legatur secunda lectio cum graduali, et sequitur tertia oratio: qua dicta, dicat archidiaconus:* Recedant qui ordinati sunt lectores: et accedant qui ordinandi sunt exorcistæ." *Pontif. Exon.*

quos actionis propriæ culpa contristat, unigeniti Filii tui adventu lætifica. Qui tecum.

Dicta tertia oratione, dicat archidiaconus:

Accedant qui ordinandi sunt exorcistæ.

Et episcopus sedens dicat eis sine nota;[21]

Exorcistæ competit abjicere dæmones, et dicere populo qui non communicat, det locum, et aquam in ministerio fundere.

Et tradat eis episcopus stando librum, in quo scripti sunt exorcismi, modo quo supra, dicens:

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[21] "*Tunc dicat episcopus:*

"Mysterium itaque ordinis hujus quem appetitis, vobis aperire debemus. Exorcistæ adjuratores dicuntur. Per hoc vero officium, potestatem ponendi manus super energumenos, super catechumenos sive baptizatos, et ejiciendi spiritus immundos accipitis: sicut dominus Jesus Christus potestatem dedit suis discipulis calcandi super serpentes, et scorpiones, et omnem virtutem inimici. Hoc ergo donum gratiæ Dei ad fidem pertinet. Per fidem enim fit expulsio dæmonum, et omnia subjiciuntur vobis, ut Dominus ait. 'Amen, dico vobis, si habueritis fidem et non hæsitaveritis, si dixeritis monti huic, tolle hinc, et jactare in mare: fiet.' Timere etiam debent exorcistæ, ne dæmonibus, quibus timori esse debent per meritum religiosæ vitæ, despecti fiant: et de eis accidat quod de septem filiis Scevæ Judæi actus apostolorum narrant. Qui cum in nomine Pauli dæmonibus imperarent, respondit dæmonium: 'Jesum novi, et Paulum scio: vos autem, qui estis? Et insiluit in eos homo qui habebat dæmonium, et dilaceravit eos: ita ut nudi et vulnerati effugerent.' Siquis vero oratione sua vel prædicatione vitium ab aliquo expulerit, spiritualis exorcista est. Hoc etiam officio Dominus fungebatur: dum ab ipso dæmones ex obsessis corporibus ejiciebantur.

"*Deinde tradat eis episcopus libellum, id est, officialem in quo scripti sunt exorcismi: ita dicens:*

"Accipite et commendate:" &c. *Pontif. Winton.*

The Bangor pontifical has no admonition to the exorcists, but proceeds at once to the delivery of the book of exorcisms with the usual form.

The Exeter MS. agrees, generally, with the text.

Accipite et commendate memoriæ, et habetote potestatem imponendi manus super energumenos, sive baptizatos, sive catechumenos.[22]

Sequitur præfatio exorcistarum.

Deum Patrem omnipotentem, fratres carissimi, supplices deprecemur, ut hos famulos suos bene✠dicere dignetur in officium[23] exorcistarum, ut sint spirituales imperatores ad abjiciendos dæmones de

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[22] We return again to the Carthaginian canons: "vij. Exorcista cum ordinatur, accipiat de manu episcopi libellum, in quo scripti sunt exorcismi, dicente sibi episcopo: Accipe et commenda memoriæ, et habeto potestatem imponendi manus super energumenum, sive baptizatum, sive catechumenum." Mansi, ut supra.

The Roman catholic church, although in practice she has suffered the office of exorcists to become extinct, yet preserves the ceremony, for it is nothing more, of their ordination. It is not easy to explain why, with seemingly a strange disregard both of every ancient precedent and of the reason of the thing, her modern pontifical has this rubric: "Liber exorcismorum, cujus loco dari potest pontificale, vel missale." Morinus (*de sacr. ordin.* p. 185) upon this merely observes, and Catalani (*comment.* tom. 1. p. 86) has nothing more to say, "De formis istis et materiis disponit ecclesia, ut æquum esse judicat." This is quite true; the minor orders not being of divine institution. But the old book might reasonably have been retained.

It is somewhat curious that whilst the Roman catholic church has allowed the office of exorcists to die out of practice, the reformed Anglican church recognises the duties and power of exorcists, subject to certain rules and limits. The canons of 1604 are still of binding authority over the clergy of the Anglican church: and the seventy-second canon strictly forbids any minister "without the licence of the bishop of the diocese, to attempt upon any pretence whatever, either of possession or obsession, by fasting and prayer, to cast out any devil or devils, under pain of the imputation of imposture or cosenage, and deposition from the ministry." I am not able to say by what form of ordination the power to exorcise is now given to the ministers spoken of in the canon.

[23] "In officio." *Bangor.* et *Exon.*

corporibus obsessis, cum omni nequitia eorum multiformi.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, bene✠dicere dignare hos famulos tuos in officium[24] exorcistarum, ut per[25] impositionem manuum et oris officium, potestatem et imperium habeant spiritus immundos[26] coercendi, ut probabiles sint medici ecclesiæ tuæ, gratia curationum virtuteque cœlesti confirmati. Per Dominum.[27]

Lectio Isaiæ prophetæ.

Hæc dicit Dominus. Super montem excelsum ascende tu, qui evangelizas Sion: exalta in fortitudine vocem tuam, qui evangelizas Hierusalem. Exalta: noli timere. Dic civitatibus Judæ, Ecce Deus vester. Ecce Dominus Deus in fortitudine veniet: et brachium ejus dominabitur: ecce merces ejus cum eo: et opus illius coram illo. Sicut pastor gregem suum pascet: in brachio suo congregabit agnos, et in sinu suo levabit eos: Dominus Deus noster.

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[24] "In officio." *Bangor.*

[25] "Ut per impositionem manuum et oris officium eos eligere digneris, ut potestatem et imperium habeant spirituum immundorum ad coercendum, et probabiles sint medici ecclesiæ gratia curationum, et virtute confirmati." *Pontif. Winton.*

[26] ". . . immundos nequitiæ, per verbum Christi, Filii tui, Domini nostri, coercendi; atque probabiles, &c." *Pontif. Exon.*

[27] "*Tunc sedeat episcopus, et legatur tertia lectio cum graduali, et sequatur oratio quarta, qua dicta, dicat archidiaconus:*

"Recedant qui ordinati sunt exorcistæ: accedant qui ordinandi sunt acolyti." *Pontif. Exon.:* with which agree, generally, the Winchester and Bangor MSS.

Gr. Domine Deus virtutum converte nos, et ostende faciem tuam, et salvi erimus.

V. Excita Domine potentiam tuam et veni, ut salvos facias nos.

Oratio.

Præsta, quæsumus omnipotens Deus, ut Filii tui ventura solemnitas, et præsentis nobis vitæ remedia conferat, et præmia æterna concedat. Per eundem.

Dicta quarta oratione, dicat archidiaconus modo quo supra:

Accedant qui ordinandi sunt acolyti.

Tunc accedant qui ordinandi sunt acolyti, et dicat eis episcopus[28] *sine nota:*

Acolytum oportet ceroferarium ferre, et luminaria

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[28] The Exeter use agrees with this: the Bangor omits the admonition, as was before observed: and we have the following in the Winchester MS.:—

"*Hi* [*i.e. acolyti*] *ab episcopo suo doceantur qualiter in officio suo agere debeant: dicens,*

"Nomen itaque hujus ordinis quem exposcitis, quod in se continet, noscere debetis. Acolyti græce, ceroferarii dicuntur latine, a cereis ferendis quando legendum est evangelium. Tunc enim accenduntur ab eis luminaria, et ante illud deportantur: non ad effugandas tenebras cum sol eo tempore rutilat: sed ad præsignandum quod lex et prophetæ, quæ per ipsa duo luminaria exprimuntur, lucem veram præcesserunt, quæ per evangelium mundo declaratur. Ait enim, 'Erat lux vera, quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum.' Tunc vero spiritualiter acolyti luminaria ante evangelium deportant, cum legem et prophetas, quibus illud prænunciatum est, populo reserando prædicant. Ille etiam spiritualis est acolytus, qui igne divini verbi succensus bonorum operum luce refulget, et cæteros verbo et exemplo exstruit et docet. Si enim acolyti oculis corporis carnalia luminaria præbent, ita oculis cordis bonorum operum exemplo accendere debent. Hoc Christus functus est officio, dum cæcis visum reddidit, et peccatorum caligine fuscatis, idem sol justitiæ effulsit.

"*Deinde accipiant ceroferarium cum cereo, ita dicente episcopo:*

"Accipite ceroferarium," &c.

ecclesiæ accendere:[29] vinum et aquam ad eucharistiam ministrare.[30]

Hic etiam poterit eos expressius informare de quatuor ordinibus præcedentibus, qui sub nomine acolytatus consummantur,[31] licet quatuor sunt in numero, prout

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[29] It has been said that St. Ignatius included the acolytes under the title τοὺς κοπιῶντας, when he sent his salutations to the different orders and degrees in the church of Antioch. The chief argument for this appears to be that, as in those days of persecution the Christians were obliged to meet before or after daylight, it was necessary that there should be acolytes, whose especial office it was to light the lamps or candles at their place of meeting: and that as St. Ignatius does not name them by their proper title, the acolytes must be intended by the "labourers." See Catalani, *In pontif. Rom.* tom. 1. p. 90; and Baronius, ad ann. XXXIV. The argument is not very satisfactory, and Cotelerius, with more judgment, supposes these labourers to have been the persons employed to bury the dead. *Patres apost.* tom. 2. p. 107.

[30] "Acolythus cum ordinatur, ab episcopo quidem doceatur qualiter in officio suo agere debeat. Sed ab archidiacono accipiat ceroferarium cum cereo, ut sciat se ad accendenda ecclesiæ luminaria mancipari. Accipiat et urceolum vacuum, ad suggerendum vinum in eucharistiam sanguinis Christi." Con. Carthag. can. vj. Mansi, ut supra. From this canon it is clear that in the earliest ages both the "ceroferarius" and "urceolus" were delivered by the archdeacon: and so it is ordered in the sacramentary of St. Gregory, and other of the most ancient rituals. But changes took place as time went on; thus in the church of Sarum the archdeacon was appointed for the "urceolus" only: and by the last revision of the Roman use the bishop is directed to deliver both, and the archdeacon's office in this respect is removed altogether: cf. note 33.

[31] Martene observes: "Acolythorum ordo aliis longe illustrior nobiliorque extitit, in ecclesia præsertim occidentali: utpote quorum ministerium circa incruentum missæ sacrificium pene totum versatur. Ipsorum est enim altaris accendere luminaria, vinum et aquam in eucharistiam sanguinis Christi suggerere:" &c. *De ant. ecc. rit.* tom. 2. p. 19.

in principio libri continetur.[32] *Et tunc ab episcopo accipiant ceroferarium cum cereo unum cum una manu, et aliud cum alia manu, dicente illis episcopo modo quo supra:*

Accipite ceroferarium cum cereo, ut sciatis vos ad accendenda ecclesiæ luminaria mancipari.

Accipiant et urceolum vacuum ab archidiacono,[33] *dicente illis episcopo modo quo supra:*

Accipite urceolum, ad suggerendum vinum et aquam in eucharistiam sanguinis Christi.[34]

Sequitur præfatio acolytorum.

Deum Patrem omnipotentem, fratres carissimi, suppliciter deprecemur, ut hos famulos suos bene✠dicere dignetur in ordine acolytorum:[35] quatenus lumen visibile manibus præferentes, lumen quoque spirituale moribus præbeant, adjuvante domino nostro Jesu Christo.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Domine sancte,[36] Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, qui per Jesum Christum Filium tuum, et apostolos ejus,[37] in hunc mundum lumen claritatis tuæ misisti, quique ut mortis nostræ antiquum aboleres chiro-

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[32] This refers to the "Admonitiones," printed below.

[33] "*Et postea tradat eis urceolum vacuum dicens.*" *Rubr. pontif. Exon.* And even more plainly from the bishop's hand, in the Winchester MS.: "*Deinde accipiant urceolum vacuum ab episcopo dicente.*"

[34] The Exeter pontifical alone adds here, and also at the delivery of the ceroferarium: "In nomine Domini, Amen."

[35] "Quorum nomina hic recitantur, *N.*" *Pontif. Winton.* So also in the former corresponding prayers in that MS.

[36] This prayer comes last of the three in the Winchester MS.

[37] "Et apostolos ejus," omitted in *Pontif. Winton.*

graphum, gloriosissimæ illum crucis vexillo affigi, ac sanguinem et aquam ex latere illius pro salute generis humani effluere voluisti: bene✠dicere dignare hos famulos tuos in officio acolytorum, ut ad accendendum lumen ecclesiæ tuæ, et ad suggerendum vinum et aquam ad conficiendum sanguinem Christi Filii tui in offerendo eucharistiam,[38] sanctis altaribus tuis fideliter subministrent: accende, Domine, mentes eorum et corda, ad amorem gratiæ tuæ, ut illuminati vultu splendoris tui, fideliter tibi in sancta ecclesia deserviant. Per eundem.

Oratio.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, qui ad Moysen et Aaron locutus es, ut accenderentur lucernæ in tabernaculo testimonii, bene✠dicere et sancti✠ficare dignare hos famulos tuos, ut sint acolyti in ecclesia tua.

Alia oratio, cum Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, fons lucis et origo bonitatis, qui per Jesum Christum Filium tuum, lumen verum, mundum illuminasti, ejusque passionis mysterio redemisti, bene✠dicere et sancti✠ficare dignare hos famulos tuos, quos in officio acolytorum consecramus, poscentes clementiam tuam, ut eorum mentes et lumine scientiæ tuæ illustres, et pietatis tuæ rore irriges, ut ita perceptum ministerium te auxiliante peragant, quatenus ad æternam remunerationem pervenire mereantur. Per eundem Dominum nostrum.[39]

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[38] "In offerenda eucharistia." *Bangor.* et *Exon.*

[39] "*Item post quintam orationem missæ et lectionem* Angelus Domini, *et responsorium* Benedictus, *vocentur ex nomine sub diligenti custodia, ne aliqui se latenter ingerant: nisi qui ordi-*

Lectio Isaiæ prophetæ.

Hæc dicit Dominus christo meo Cyro, cujus apprehendi dextram, ut subjiciam ante faciem ejus gentes, et dorsa regum vertam: et aperiam coram eo januas, et portæ ei non claudentur. Ego ante te ibo, et gloriosos terræ humiliabo. Portas æreas conteram, et vectes ferreos confringam. Et dabo tibi thesauros absconditos et arcana secretorum, ut scias quia ego Dominus qui invoco nomen tuum, Deus Israel. Propter servum meum Jacob et Israel electum meum, et vocavi te nomine tuo: assimulavi te, et non cognovisti me. Ego Dominus, et non est alius extra me Deus. Accinxi te, et non cognovisti me: ut sciant hi qui ab ortu solis, et qui ab occidente, quoniam absque me non est Deus. Ego Dominus, et non est alter, formans lucem et creans tenebras: faciens pacem et creans malum. Ego Dominus: faciens omnia hæc. Rorate cœli desuper, et nubes pluant justum, aperiatur terra et germinet salvatorem; et justitia oriatur simul. Ego Dominus: creavi eum.

Gr. Excita Domine potentiam tuam et veni, ut salvos facias nos.

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nandi sunt subdiaconi." *Rubr. pontif. Winton.*

"*Tunc lecta lectione quarta, et dicto responsorio, et oratione, legatur lectio quinta,* Angelus Domini. *Deinde oratio missæ, et pro ordinatis,* Exaudi, *sub uno* per Dominum. *Qua expleta dicat archidiaconus:* Recedant qui ordinati sunt acolyti: *et statim subjungat:* Accedant qui ordinandi sunt subdiaconi." *Rubr. pontif. Bangor.*

"*Tunc sedeat episcopus, et legatur lectio quarta cum graduali, et sequatur oratio quinta cum lectione et tractu; quibus finitis, episcopus convertat se ad chorum, et dicat:* Pax vobis, &c. *Sequitur oratio: qua finita, dicat archidiaconus acolytis, quod quilibet eorum dicat tria psalteria pro statu ecclesiæ, regni, et episcopi; et subjungat:* Recedant qui ordinati sunt acolyti," &c. *Rubr. pontif. Exon.*

V. Qui regis Israel intende, qui deducis velut ovem Joseph, qui sedes super cherubin appare coram Ephraim et Benjamin et Manasseh.

Oratio.

Preces populi tui, quæsumus Domine, clementer exaudi, ut qui juste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pietatis tuæ visitatione consolemur. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre, etc.

Lectio Danielis prophetæ.

Angelus Domini descendit cum Azaria et sociis suis in fornacem, et excussit flammam ignis de fornace, et fecit medium fornacis quasi ventum roris flantem. Flamma autem diffusa est super fornacem cubitis quadraginta novem: et incendit quos reperit juxta fornacem de Chaldæis ministros ejus qui eam incendebant. Illos autem omnino non tetigit ignis neque contristavit: nec quicquam molestiæ intulit. Tunc hi tres quasi ex uno ore laudabant et glorificabant et benedicebant Deum: in fornace dicentes.

Gradale. Benedictus es, Domine Deus patrum nostrorum, et laudabilis, et gloriosus in sæcula.

Chorus idem repetat.

Vers. Et benedictum nomen gloriæ tuæ quod est sanctum.

Chorus. Et laudabile et gloriosum in sæcula.

Vers. Benedictus es in templo sancto gloriæ tuæ.

Chorus. Et laudabile.

Vers. Benedictus es super thronum sanctum regni tui.

Chorus. Et laudabile.

Vers. Benedictus es super sceptrum regni divinitatis tuæ.

Chorus. Et laudabile.

Subdiaconum oportet præparare necessaria ad ministrationem altaris, et diacono humiliter ministrare.[41]

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tinguit ignem, ita eleemosyna extinguit peccatum.' Hoc vero Dominus functus est officio, quando pedes apostolorum aqua lavit, et linteo extersit.

"*Deinde cum ordinantur, quia manus impositionem non accipiunt, patenam de manu episcopi accipient vacuam, et calicem vacuum, dicente episcopo:*

"Videte cujus," &c. *Pontif. Winton.*

[41] Alcuin says: "Subdiaconus, subminister, eo quod sub diacono sit, id est sub ministro; illius ministerium est, ut ministret diacono, id est, deferat ei linteum, super quod consecrandum est corpus et sanguis Domini. Deferat ei patenam cum oblatis, et calicem in quo vinum et aqua habeatur. Peracto sacrificio, mysteria corporis et sanguinis Domini, quæ superfuerint, a diacono colligenda vel deportanda suscipit." *De div. off., Bibl. patrum, auctarium*, tom. I. p. 270. And Amalarius: "Subdiaconus ideo dicitur, quia sub diacono est: ad unum mysterium consecrantur; subdiaconus vasa altaris ad eum defert, ipse vero ad altare, ut in eo disponat, quæ disponenda sunt, atque inde recipiat, ut bonus dispensator de mensa Domini sui." *De ecc. off.* lib. 2. cap. xj. *ibid.* p. 382. From these and other authorities of about the same date, it has been not unreasonably supposed that at that time the subdeacons did not approach the altar itself but, although admitted within the sacrarium, handed the sacred vessels and other necessaries to the deacon or priest. Admittance even into the sacrarium, I would observe, was a privilege which grew up in later days than the council of Laodicea: which in its twenty-first canon strictly prohibited it to the subdeacons. Cf. also Goar, *Euchol.* p. 247. note 12. If we could interpret the admonition of the English ordinals strictly, we might conclude that the duties of subdeacons still continued to be limited up to the sixteenth century. The degree of subdeacon is almost always taken only as a step to the higher orders of deacon and priest; in the same way as the minor orders are taken, with no intention of remaining in them.

Having mentioned the council of Laodicea, I may add that its twenty-second canon ordered the "minister" (by which word both Balsamon and Zonaras, under canon twenty-one, understand the subdeacon) "not to leave the doors." Whence we learn that anciently this was a

Accedentes igitur subdiaconi cum ordinantur, quia manus impositionem non accipiunt, patenam de manu episcopi vacuam accipiant, et calicem vacuum:[42] *de manu vero archidiaconi*[43] *accipiunt urceolum plenum cum aquamanili, id est, manutergio, dicente illis episcopo sine nota, stando:*

Videte cujus ministerium vobis traditur.

In fine concludat legendo, sic:

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portion of their duties: as Zonaras says: "antiquis temporibus ad fores ecclesiæ consistere, ibique catechumenis, et iis qui in pœnitentium ordine censebantur, cum opus foret, emittendis operam dare hypodiaconi soliti sunt." Bevereg. *Pandect.* tom. 1. p. 463.

[42] "Subdiaconus cum ordinatur, quia manus impositionem non accipit, patenam de episcopi manu accipiat vacuam, et calicem vacuum. De manu vero archidiaconi, urceolum cum aqua, et mantile, et manutergium." *Concil. Carth.* iv. can. v. There is not here, nor in the text, any mention made of the book of the epistles; which is now ordered to be delivered also by the revised Roman ordinal. But for several centuries in the church of England it had become customary for the subdeacon to read the epistle, instead of the "lector." Upon this point I must refer the reader to my work on the *Ancient liturgy*, where he will find some remarks upon the subject. One of the earliest canons which bear upon the point is the fourth of the council of Rhemes, in the year 813: "*De officio subdiaconi.* . . . . residentibus cunctis lectæ sunt epistolæ Pauli, qualiter subdiaconi ministerium est eumdem apostolum legere, ut officium sibi commissum implere rectius potuisset." *Concil.* Mansi, tom. xiv. col. 77. Compare also Amalarius, lib. 1. cap. xj; and Micrologus, cap. viij.

[43] There is considerable variation here between the pontificals. The Winchester directs: "*Postea vero accipiant ab archidiacono urceolum cum aquamanili ac manutergio.*" With this the Bangor agrees, with the addition "*urceolum vacuum.*" And in the address just above, note 40, we have the candidates reminded that they were to receive "manile cum manutergio ab archidiacono." The Exeter pontifical gives another direction; viz. "*Tunc surgens episcopus, tradat cuilibet calicem vacuum cum patena ad tangendum, quem sequatur archidiaconus cum urceolo et manutergio et aqua, dicente episcopo circumeundo.*"

Ideo si usque nunc fuistis tardi ad ecclesiam; amodo debetis esse assidui. Si usque nunc somnolenti; amodo vigiles. Si usque nunc ebriosi; amodo sobrii. Si nunc usque inhonesti; amodo casti. Ideo vos moneo, ut vos ita exhibeatis ut Deo placere possitis.

Præfatio subdiaconorum cum nota, stando.

Oremus Deum ac dominum nostrum, fratres carissimi, ut super servos suos quos ad subdiaconatus officium vocare dignatus est, effundat bene✠dictionem suam et gratiam, ut in conspectu ejus fideliter servientes, prædestinata sanctis præmia consequantur, adjuvante domino nostro Jesu Christo.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Benedictio subdiaconorum.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, bene✠dicere dignare hos famulos tuos, quos ad subdiaconatus officium vocare[44] dignatus es, ut eos in sacrario sancto tuo strenuos sollicitosque cœlestis militiæ instituas excubitores, sanctisque altaribus tuis fideliter subministrent, et requiescat super eos spiritus sapientiæ et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiæ et pietatis; et repleas eos spiritu timoris tui, et eos in ministerio divino confirmes,[45] ut obedientes facto atque dicto parentes, tuam gratiam consequantur. Per Dominum, in unitate ejusdem.

Tunc tradat[46] *eis singulis in sinistro brachio*

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[44] "Eligere." *Pontif. Winton.* et *Exon.*

[45] "Conformes." *Winton.* et *Exon.*

[46] The Winchester pontifical, taking no notice of the maniple or tunic, here concludes the office of ordaining subdeacons; with this rubric: "*Tunc exeant subdiaconi. Et postquam episcopus*

episcopus manipulos,[47] *dicens sine nota, et eos circumeundo:*

Accipe manipulum, imple ministerium tuum; potens

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finierit hanc collectam, Deus qui tribus, *post epistolam et kyrie*, Laudate, *introducantur qui ordinandi sunt diaconi.*"

The reader must not forget that this Winchester MS. is earlier, by nearly two hundred years, than the Bangor pontifical: being of the early part of the twelfth, if not of the latter part of the eleventh century. See vol. i. p. 1.

[47] It has been stated in the preceding note that the Winchester pontifical does not direct either the maniple or the tunic to be delivered. And in fact both of them were of late introduction into the Church, as part of the vestments of subdeacons. We might have argued that not only the tunic but the maniple was added in the English church (from the fact of neither being spoken of in the Winchester, and both in the Bangor MS.) about the twelfth century. But it is a curious circumstance that the very ancient pontifical of archbishop Egbert of York (printed by the Surtees Society, vol. 27) has this rubric in the ordination of a subdeacon: "*Et tradat ei calicem, et patenam, et manipulum.*" *Celebratio ordinum*, p. 15. Whether it was afterwards omitted, between the eighth and the eleventh centuries, we cannot say.

But in fact, the maniple in that early age had not degenerated from its real and proper purpose into a mere ornament: and some ancient pontificals, when the delivery of it first solemnly formed a part of the ordering of subdeacons, expressly referred to its continued and actual use. "Accipe manipulum" was the form of words "in manibus tuis ad extergendas sordes cordis et corporis, in nomine Patris," &c. *Ibid.* p. 20. In which form we find the same mixture of symbolical meaning as in these passages: "Mappula quæ in sinistra parte gestatur, qua pituitam oculorum et narium detergimus, præsentem vitam designat, in qua superfluos humores patimur." Alcuin, *de div. off.* "Sudarium ad hoc portamus, ut eo detergamus sudorem. In manu sinistra portatur, ut ostendatur in temporali vita tædium nos pati superflui humoris." Amalarius, lib. 2. cap. xxiv.

With regard to the tunic, it seems to be agreed that it was introduced after the eleventh century; and was first used in the case of those who, being already monks, were to be ordained subdeacons.

est enim Dominus, ut augeat tibi gratiam : qui vivit et regnat.[48]

In fine dicat episcopus singulis:

Pax tecum. *Et ille ordinandus respondeat:*

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Ad induendam tunicam dicat episcopus:

Induat te Dominus vestimento salutis, et indumento justitiæ circumdet te semper.[49]

Qua finita statim legatur epistola ad Thessalonicenses.

Fratres: rogamus vos per adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi et nostræ congregationis in idipsum : ut non cito moveamini a vestro sensu, neque terreamini, neque per spiritum, neque per sermonem, neque per epistolam tanquam per nos missam, quasi instet dies Domini. Nequis vos seducat ullo modo. Quoniam nisi venerit primum dissentio, et revelatus fuerit homo peccati, filius perditionis, qui

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[48] "*Et ille osculari debet manum episcopi. Tunc episcopus det illi qui lecturus est epistolam, tunicam, dicens:* Induat," &c. *Pontif. Exon.*

The Bangor MS. is the same as in the text.

[49] "*Qua indutus statim legat epistolam, et sequatur kyrie. Deinde vocentur qui ordinandi sunt diaconi.*" *Pontif. Bangor.* From this rubric it may be concluded that the tunic was delivered only to the subdeacon about to read the epistle.

"*Tunc lecta epistola cum tractu, injungat psalteria sicut prius, et postea dicat:* Recedant qui ordinati sunt subdiaconi: et accedant qui ordinandi sunt diaconi.

"*Hic aliqui prælati faciunt simul vocari eos qui ordinandi sunt diaconi et sacerdotes: quibus singillatim vocatis, et introductis, episcopus cum ministris prosternat se ante altare dum litania a choro cantatur: aliqui vero dicunt litaniam solum in ordinatione presbyterorum.*" *Pontif. Exon.* Compare the rubric of the text, below; and the rubric in the note there, from the Bangor MS. The student should refer also to the Roman pontifical, in the order for subdeacons.

adversatur et extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus, aut quod colitur, ita ut in templo Dei sedeat ostendens se tanquam sit deus. Non retinetis quod adhuc cum essem apud vos, hæc dicebam vobis. Et nunc quid detineat scitis: ut reveletur in suo tempore. Nam mysterium jam operatur iniquitatis, tantum ut qui tenet nunc, teneat, donec de medio fiat. Et tunc revelabitur ille iniquus, quem Dominus Jesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet illustratione adventus sui.

Sequatur tractus.

Qui regis Israel intende, qui deducis velut ovem Joseph.

Vers. Qui sedes super cherubin, appare coram Ephraim, Benjamin, et Manasseh.

Vers. Excita Domine potentiam tuam, et veni, ut salvos facias nos.

Cantatoque tractu, episcopus injungat eis horas canonicas quotidie dicendas ad totum terminum vitæ. Et archidiaconus injungat eis aliquid certum pro statu universalis ecclesiæ, et tranquillitate regis et regni, et prosperitate domini episcopi. Et pro animabus patrum et matrum, et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. Et etiam dominus concedat indulgentias viginti dierum omnibus eorum primas epistolas audientibus.

Postea statim dicat:

Recedant qui ordinati sunt subdiaconi; accedant qui ordinandi sunt diaconi, et sacerdotes.

Deinde[60] *accedentes qui ordinandi sunt diaconi et*

[60] "*Deinde accedentes qui ordinandi sunt diaconi et sacerdotes, cum vestibus suis et titulis, et stantibus cunctis, prostrato episcopo ante altare cum sacerdotibus et levitis ordinandis, incipiat*

sacerdotes cum vestibus suis, et prostrato episcopo ante altare cum sacerdotibus et levitis ordinandis, postea duo clerici incipiant litaniam.

Kyrie eleison.
Christe eleison.
Christe audi nos.
Pater de cœlis Deus: miserere nobis.
Fili, redemptor mundi, Deus: miserere nobis.
Spiritus sancte, Deus: miserere nobis.
Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus: miserere nobis.
Sancta Maria: ora pro nobis.
Sancta Dei genitrix: ora.
Sancta virgo virginum: ora.
Sancte Michael: ora.
Sancte Gabriel: ora.
Sancte Raphael: ora.
Omnes sancti angeli, et archangeli, orate.
Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines: orate.
Sancte Johannes baptista: ora.
Omnes sancti patriarchæ et prophetæ: orate.
Sancte Petre: ora.
Sancte Paule: ora.
Sancte Andrea: ora.
Sancte Johannes: ora.
Sancte Jacobe: ora.
Sancte Thoma: ora.
Sancte Philippe: ora.
Sancte Jacobe: ora.
Sancte Mathæe: ora.

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cantor litaniam." Rubr. *Pontif. Bangor.*

The Winchester MS. agrees with the Exeter (see above, note 46) in calling up the deacons and priests separately.

Sancte Bartholomee : ora.
Sancte Simon : ora.
Sancte Thaddee : ora.
Sancte Mathia : ora.
Sancte Barnaba : ora.
Sancte Marce : ora.
Sancte Luca : ora.
Omnes sancti apostoli, et evangelistæ : orate.
Omnes sancti discipuli Domini, et innocentes : orate.
Sancte Stephane : ora.
Sancte Line : ora.
Sancte Clete : ora.
Sancte Clemens : ora.
Sancte Fabiane : ora.
Sancte Sebastiane : ora.
Sancte Cosma : ora.
Sancte Damiane : ora.
Sancte Prime, sancte Feliciane : orate.
Sancte Dionysi, cum sociis tuis : orate.
Sancte Victor, cum sociis tuis : orate.
Omnes sancti Martyres : orate.
Sancte Silvester : ora.
Sancte Leo : ora.
Sancte Jeronyme : ora.
Sancte Augustine : ora.
Sancte Isidore : ora.
Sancte Juliane : ora.
Sancte Gildarde : ora.
Sancte Medarde : ora.
Sancte Albine : ora.
Sancte Eusebi : ora.
Sancte Swithune : ora.
Sancte Birine : ora.

Omnes sancti confessores : orate.
Omnes sancti monachi, et eremitæ : orate.
Sancta Maria Magdalena : ora.
Sancta Maria Ægyptiaca : ora.
Sancta Margareta : ora.
Sancta Scholastica : ora.
Sancta Petronella : ora.
Sancta Genoveva : ora.
Sancta Praxedis : ora.
Sancta Sotheris : ora.
Sancta Prisca : ora.
Sancta Tecla : ora.
Sancta Affra : ora.
Sancta Editha : ora.
Omnes sanctæ virgines : orate.
Omnes sancti : orate.
Propitius esto : parce nobis, Domine.
Ab omni malo : libera nos, Domine.
Ab insidiis diaboli : libera.
A damnatione perpetua : libera.
Ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis : libera.
Ab infestationibus dæmonum : libera.
A spiritu fornicationis : libera.
Ab appetitu inanis gloriæ : libera.
Ab omni immunditia mentis et corporis : libera.
Ab ira, et odio, et omni mala voluntate : libera.
Ab immundis cogitationibus : libera.
A cæcitate cordis : libera.
A fulgure et tempestate : libera.
A subitanea et improvisa morte : libera.
Per mysterium sanctæ incarnationis tuæ : libera.
Per nativitatem tuam : libera.
Per sanctam circumcisionem tuam : libera.

Per baptismum tuum : libera.
Per jejunium tuum : libera.
Per crucem et passionem tuam : libera.
Per pretiosam mortem tuam : libera.
Per gloriosam resurrectionem tuam : libera.
Per admirabilem ascensionem tuam : libera.
Per gratiam sancti Paracliti : libera.
In hora mortis : succurre nobis, Domine.
In die judicii : libera.
Peccatores, te rogamus audi nos.
Ut pacem nobis dones.
Te rogamus.
Ut misericordia et pietas tua nos custodiat.
Te rogamus.
Ut ecclesiam tuam catholicam regere et defensare digneris.
Te rogamus.
Ut apostolicum donum, et omnes gradus ecclesiæ, in sancta religione conservare digneris.
Te rogamus.

Hic surgat episcopus et sumat baculum in manu sua, et conversus ad ordinandos dicat:[51]

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[51] Upon the use of the sign of the cross in this place, so many times, I extract a passage from Catalani: "Huc certe spectare videtur, quod ait sanctus Augustinus sermone clxxxj. de tempore, et tractatu cxviij. in Joannem, ita inquiens: 'signo crucis consecratur corpus Dominicum, et omnia quæcumque sanctificantur, cum invocatione Christi nominis, in hoc signo consecrantur.' Ideo in ordinibus præsertim sacris conferendis crucis semper signaculum affulget: 'Unicuique eorum,' inquit S. Dionysius de ecclesiastica hierarchia, 'qui consecrantur, signum crucis a consecrante pontifice imprimitur.' Ibidem vero subdit, crucis consignationem communem esse ordinationi episcoporum, sacerdotum, et diaconorum. Id quod etiam testatur memoratus Augustinus sermone xix. de sanctis, ubi ita ait: 'Sacer-

Ut electos istos bene✠dicere digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut electos istos bene✠dicere, et sancti✠ficare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut electos istos bene✠dicere, sancti✠ficare, et conse✠crare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Hoc peracto, genuflectat episcopus cum cæteris ministris, usque ad finem litaniæ. Clerici prosequantur litaniam sic:

Ut episcopos, et abbates nostros, in sancta religione conservare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut regi nostro, et principibus nostris, pacem et veram concordiam atque victoriam donare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut congregationes omnium sanctorum tuorum in tuo sancto servitio conservare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut cunctum populum Christianum, pretioso sanguine tuo redemptum, conservare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut omnibus benefactoribus nostris sempiterna bona retribuas.

Te rogamus.

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dotes et Levitæ per signum crucis ad sacros ordines promoventur.' Tandem, S. Joannes Chrysostomus homilia lv. in Matt. absolute inquit, in quacumque ordinatione signum hoc salutis adhiberi: 'Crux adest, cum ordinandi statuimur.'" *In pontif. Rom.* tom. I. p. 100.

With regard to its use and acceptation in the Greek church see Goar, *Euchol.* p. 297, and p. 255, note 7.

Ut animas nostras, et parentum nostrorum, ab æterna damnatione eripias.

Te rogamus.

Ut fructus terræ dare atque conservare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut oculos misericordiæ tuæ super nos reducere digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut obsequium servitutis nostræ rationabile facias.

Te rogamus.

Ut mentes nostras ad cœlestia desideria erigas.

Te rogamus.

Ut miserias pauperum et captivorum intueri et relevare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis requiem æternam dones.

Te rogamus.

Ut nos exaudire digneris.

Te rogamus.

Fili Dei, te rogamus audi nos.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, exaudi nos, Domine.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, parce nobis, Domine.

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

Kyrie eleison.

Christe eleison.

Kyrie eleison.

Finita litania, redeant sacerdotes electi ad loca sua, remanentibus levitis ad consecrandum, et episcopus dicat eis sine nota, sedendo:

Diaconum oportet [52] ministrare ad altare,[53] evangelium legere, baptizare,[54] et prædicare.[55]

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[52] The admonition to the deacons in the Winchester pontifical immediately follows their approach to the bishop, and in that age, according to the use of that church, a litany does not seem to have been appointed. The admonition is this:—

"*Quos instruens, episcopus dicat:*

"Diaconatus vero officium in veteri testamento sumpsit exordium: in novo accepit incrementum. In veteri enim testamento levitæ vocabantur, et ab eis tabernaculum et ejus vasa custodiebantur. In novo vero ab apostolis ordinati, divini verbi præcones, et mensarum dispensatores constituuntur. Per ipsos enim debent stipendia ecclesiæ viduis et pauperibus erogari. Hii vero candidis vestibus induti altario assistunt, quibus castitatem cæteramque mentis puritatem se habere debere ostendunt. Paulus enim scribens ad Timotheum, cum præmisisset de sacerdotum electione, continuo subjunxit: 'Diacones [*sic*] similiter sint irreprehensibiles, id est, sine macula, et pudici, sicut episcopus. Non bilingues, non multo vino dediti, non terrena lucra sectantes.' Ipsi vero manus impositionem ab episcopo accipiunt. Per manus opera intelligimus. Per digitos, dona Spiritus sancti. In membris enim humanis non est major discretio, quam in digitis. Ac per hoc dona Spiritus sancti discreta monstrantur. Et per impositionem manuum opera Spiritus sancti intelligimus, quæ in grege dominico debet exercere diaconus. Christus vero quamdiu nobis prædicavit, functus est officio diaconi. Habet diaconus donum prophetiæ, et merito; quia ejus fungitur officio de quo dictum est 'prophetam vobis suscitabit Deus de fratribus vestris tanquam me: ipsum audite.' Et iterum in evangelio, 'propheta magnus surrexit in nobis.' Sunt etiam diaconi, ut ab apostolis institutum est, mensarum et viduarum ministri. Hoc officio Dominus ministrabat; cum aperta voce clamabat, 'pœnitentiam agite; appropinquavit enim regnum cœlorum.'

"*Hi cum ordinantur, solus episcopus qui eos benedicit, manum super capita eorum ponat: quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecrantur: dicens:*

"Oremus, dilectissimi," &c.

Hence it appears that at that time the Winchester use did not enjoin also (as afterwards the Exeter, Salisbury, and Bangor pontificals) the "Accipe Spiritum sanctum." See the note below.

[53] Upon the question whether deacons anciently were permitted to administer the cup, in the

Quibus inclinantibus, solus episcopus qui eos benedicit manum super capita singulorum ponat, dicens, solus secrete:

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holy eucharist, I must refer the reader to some observations in the *Ancient liturgy*.

[54] If a priest was present, or near at hand, it was irregular that a deacon should baptize. Matthew Paris, speaking of the baptism of prince Edward eldest son of Henry the third, says, "Carleolensis episcopus infantem catechizavit, legatus eundem baptizavit, licet non esset sacerdos." *Hist.* p. 413. And the historian expresses his surprise at this circumstance.

[55] The admonition does not notice in any way a privilege which in the middle ages the church of England, in extreme cases, allowed to her deacons; namely, that of reconciling penitents. And it is remarkable that the same restriction is laid upon the exercise of both this power of reconciling and of baptizing. Thus the fifth canon of the council of York, in 1195: 'Decrevimus etiam, ut non nisi summa et gravi urgente necessitate diaconus baptizet, vel corpus Christi cuiquam eroget, vel pœnitentiam confitenti imponat." Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 501. And five years afterwards in the province of Canterbury, the third canon of the council of London: "Ut non liceat diaconibus baptizare, vel pœnitentias dare, nisi duplici necessitate; viz. quia sacerdos non potest, vel absens, vel stulte non vult, et mors imminet puero, vel ægro." *Ibid.* p. 505. The same was repeated in the year 1236, in a provincial constitution; *ibid.* p. 636.

Lyndwood comments upon this, both with respect to baptizing and hearing confessions. As regards the latter, his explanation is more mysterious than the permission which we are considering: "*De baptismate et pœnitentia.* Quæ duo quoad ministrationem eorundem parificantur, ut scilicet non ministrentur nisi a sacerdote; qui dictorum sacramentorum est debitus minister, excepta causa necessitatis. De primo, scilicet quoad baptismum, sic scribunt communiter omnes theologi, qui dicunt, quod alius non sacerdos baptizans præter articulum necessitatis peccat. De secundo, scilicet pœnitentia, quod sit proprium officium sacerdotis et non alterius, qui non est sacerdos, patet ex hoc; quod solum sacerdotibus Dominus dedit potestatem ligandi et solvendi." Lib. 3. tit. 24, Baptisterium habeatur, *verb.* pœnitentia.

The *Liber pœnitentialis* of archbishop Theodore in the seventh

Accipe Spiritum sanctum.[56] *Quia non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecrantur.*[57]

century has a notice upon the subject, but expressed in such general terms that it leaves the question where it was before: "Non licet diaconum laico pœnitentiam judicare, sed episcopi et presbyteri judicare debent." Thorpe, *Anglo-saxon laws*, vol. 2. p. 57. But a passage in the twelfth epistle of St. Cyprian is much to the point, and possibly it was in reliance upon his authority that the English church published the above canons: "Quoniam tamen video facultatem veniendi ad vos nondum esse, occurrendum puto fratribus nostris; ut qui libellos a martyribus acceperunt, et prærogativa eorum apud Deum adjuvari possunt, si incommodo aliquo et infirmitatis periculo occupati fuerint, non expectata præsentia nostra, apud presbyterum quemcumque præsentem, vel si presbyter repertus non fuerit, et urgere exitus cœperit, apud diaconum quoque exomologesin facere delicti sui possint; ut manu eis in pœnitentiam imposita veniant ad Dominum cum pace quam dari martyres litteris ad nos factis desideraverunt." *Opera*, p. 22.

An interpretation may be put upon these canons as regards confession, that that office, when performed by deacons, came under the class of what was called sacramentals; and so possibly the English councils might have looked on it. See Natalis Alexander, *Theol. dogm.* lib. 2. art. viij. This certainly somewhat reconciles the difficulty under which these canons lie; whether the councils were correct in limiting the power of deacons to baptize to cases only where great necessity existed is another point, upon which I have not space to enter. I shall only add that the later Roman canonists do not allow that the "exomologesis" of St. Cyprian is to be understood of what they call "sacramental confession:" but a lower kind, which might, in the absence of both priest and bishop, enable a deacon simply to restore the penitent to the right of communion.

[56] This form is as follows in the Roman pontifical: "Accipe Spiritum sanctum, ad robur, et ad resistendum diabolo, et tentationibus ejus. In nomine Domini." It is interpolated in the long prayer, which is called in the text "Præfatio," beginning "Honorum dator."

Some of the schoolmen have called these words "Accipe" &c. the form: but there is this difficulty, that (as we have already seen in the case of the Winchester MS.) it is of late introduction; Martene says of about the

Sequitur præfatio super inclinatos diaconos, stando, cum nota.

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thirteenth century; and probably the Bangor pontifical is as early as any manuscript in which it can be found. Hence others, as Catalani and Martene, say that the form is contained in the prayer which begins "Emitte quæsumus Domine," &c.: which clause was anciently, as the reader will observe, in the middle and not at the beginning of a prayer. It was to obviate all these objections and make the public rituals harmonise with the opinions of the Roman doctors, that at the revision of the pontifical the old prayer was divided, and the new clause aptly fitted in, to supply what was wanted.

[57] We return again to the important canons of the fourth council of Carthage, to which so many of the ancient rubrics of the English ordinals are to be traced: "IV. Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus episcopus, qui eum benedicit, manum super caput illius ponat: quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur." Mansi, *ut supra.* The same words are introduced into the sacramentary of St. Gregory and the old ordo Romanus. Still the rule was not exactly observed in all churches, for in some pontificals (and among them the very early English MS. preserved at Rouen) we have the following rubric, which probably is to be traced to an age earlier even than the Carthaginian council, as it is to be found in the Gelasian sacramentary: "Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus episcopus, qui eum benedicit, manum super caput illius ponat, reliqui omnes sacerdotes juxta manum episcopi, caput illius tangant, quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur." And there is a remarkable place in Durand where, after citing the first rubric, he objects: "In actibus tamen apostolorum ita legitur: 'hos statuerunt ante conspectum apostolorum, et orantes imposuerunt manus super eos.' In quo ostenditur, non solum episcopum verum etiam presbyteros tunc adstantes debere manum super diaconum, dum ordinatur, imponere." *Ration.* lib. 2. ix. 14. And he goes on to argue that a bishop could not have more power than an apostle. Amalarius also, some centuries before, makes the same objection upon the same ground. But as Menard argues in his notes on this place of the sacramentary of St. Gregory, it was not strange that, being together, the apostles should all have laid their hands upon the deacons: "Quamvis id minime esset necessarium, cum unicus sufficere potuisset." Tom. 3. p. 498. I suppose that this point there-

Oremus, dilectissimi, Deum Patrem omnipotentem, ut super hos famulos suos,[58] quos ad officium diaconatus assumere dignatus est, bene✠dictionis suæ gratiam clementer effundat, et consecrationis indultæ propitius dona conservet, et preces nostras clementer exaudiat: ut quæ nostro gerenda sunt ministerio, suo benignus prosequatur auxilio, et quos sacris mysteriis exequendis pro nostra intelligentia credimus offerendos, sua electione sanctificet.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Exaudi, Domine, preces nostras, et super hos famulos tuos spiritum tuæ bene✠dictionis emitte: ut cœlesti munere ditati, et tuæ gratiam possint majestatis acquirere, et bene vivendi aliis exemplum præbere: *terminando secrete:* Per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum.

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine

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fore was anciently left entirely to the discretion of each church, according to her own judgment.

[58] "Quorum nomina hic recitantur, quos in sacrum ordinem dignatur assumere, benedictionis suæ gratiam clementer infundat, eisque donum consecrationis indulgeat, per quod eos ad gaudia æterna perducat. Qui vivit," &c. *Pontif. Winton.:* and followed by the Exeter MS. except that the latter reads "quos ad officium diaconatus."

sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus. Honorum[59] dator, ordinumque distributor, ac officiorum dispositor, qui, in te manens, innovas omnia et cuncta disponis, per Verbum, virtutem, sapientiamque tuam, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, Dominum nostrum, sempiterna providentia præparans, et singulis quibusque temporibus aptanda dispensas. Cujus corpus, ecclesiam videlicet tuam cœlestium gratiarum varietate distinctam, suorumque connexam distinctione membrorum per legem mirabilem compaginis totius unitam, in augmentum templi tui crescere dilatarique largiris, sacri muneris servitutem in trinis gradibus ministrorum nomini tuo militare constituens; electis ab initio Levi filiis, qui in mysticis operationibus domus tuæ fidelibus excubiis permanentes, hæreditatem benedictionis æternæ sorte perpetua possiderent. Super hos quoque famulos tuos, quæsumus Domine, placatus intende, quos tuis sacrariis servituros in officium diaconii suppliciter dedi✠camus. Et nos quidem tanquam homines divini sensus et summæ rationis ignari, horum vitam

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[59] Some MSS. in this place read "bonorum," which is followed by the Exeter pontifical; but wrongly. For, as Menard has observed, "hæc vox *honor* dicitur de tribus excellentioribus ordinibus, diaconatu, presbyteratu, et episcopatu." S. Greg. Opera, tom. 3. p. 499. And he cites several passages to this purpose from Ennodius, Optatus Milevitanus, and others; with these from St. Cyprian: "Cæterum presbyterii honorem designasse nos illis, ut sciatis." *Epist.* 34. "Fungeris circa eum potestate honoris tui, ut eum vel deponas, vel abstineas." *Ibid.* 65.

So also we have the canons of councils: thus the second of the fourth council of Arles: "Sed nec reliqui pontifices presbyterii, vel diaconatus honorem conferre præsumant," &c. And the eighth canon of the council of Nice, before quoted (p. 155, note 6): Ὁ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς λεγομένοις Καθαροῖς ἐπίσκοπος, τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἕξει.

quantum possumus æstimamus. Te autem, Domine, ea quæ nobis sunt ignota non transeunt, et occulta non fallunt. Tu cognitor es secretorum, tu scrutator es cordium, tu eorum vitam cœlesti poteris examinare judicio, qui semper prævales et commissa purgare et ea quæ sunt agenda concedere. Emitte in eos, quæsumus Domine, Spiritum sanctum, quo in opus ministerii fideliter exequendi, septiformis gratiæ tuæ munere roborentur: abundet in eis totius forma virtutis, auctoritas modesta, pudor constans, innocentiæ puritas, et spiritualis observantia disciplinæ. In moribus eorum præcepta tua fulgeant, ut suæ castitatis exemplo imitationem sancta plebs acquirat, et bonum conscientiæ testimonium præferentes, in Christo firmi et stabiles perseverent, dignisque successibus de inferiori gradu per gratiam tuam capere potiora mereantur.

Terminando secrete: Per eundem Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate ejusdem.

Tunc ponat singulis, super sinistrum humerum, stolam usque ad ascellam[60] *dexteram subtus, dicens sine nota:*[61]

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[60] i. e. axillam.

[61] "*Tunc ponat singulis, super humerum sinistrum stolas, dicens:*" Rubr. *Pontif. Bangor.*

"*Finita præfatione, tunc episcopus tradat cuilibet diaconorum stolam, dicens.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Exon.*

Very anciently the stoles for deacons and the vestments for priests were blessed at the beginning of the ordination service: this was the custom in England before the tenth century. In Egbert's pontifical the following is the form of benediction; after which came a prayer:

"*Incipit benedictio ad stolas vel planetas quando levitæ seu presbyteri ordinandi sunt.* Deus invictæ virtutis triumphator, et omnium rerum creator ac sanctificator, intende propitius preces nostras, et has stolas sive plane-

In nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis, accipe stolam immortalitatis: imple ministerium tuum, potens est enim Deus ut augeat tibi gratiam, qui vivit et regnat.[62]

Non dicitur ulterius, sed statim subjungat:

Pax tecum.

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tas leviticæ ac sacerdotalis gloriæ ministris tuis frequentandas tuo proprio ore benedicere, ac sanctificare, consecrareque digneris, omnesque eis utentes, tuisque mysteriis a nobis indignis consecrandis aptos, et tibi in eis devote et amabiliter servientes, gratos efficere concedas, nunc et per infinita sæcula sæculorum." *Pontif. Egbert.* p. 16.

[62] The Winchester pontifical has a considerable addition after the words "qui vivit et regnat:"—

"Per hoc signum, vobis diaconatus officium imponimus, ut firmamentum mensæ divinæ tanquam sustentaculum columnarum sitis, et præcones regis cœlestis irreprehensibiliter existere mereamini.

"*Addat etiam hanc episcopus orationem:*

"In nomine sanctæ Trinitatis et unicæ Divinitatis, accipite stolam quam vobis Dominus per humilitatis nostræ famulatum et per manus nostras accipiendam præparavit; per quam sciatis sarcinam Domini Dei vestri cervicibus vestris impositam, et humilitatem, atque in administrationem vos esse connexos, et per quam vos cognoscant fratres vestri ministros Dei esse ordinatos: ut qui in diaconatus ministerio estis constituti, leviticæ benedictionis ordine clarescatis, et spirituali conversatione præfulgentes, gratia sanctificationis eluceatis, sed et in Christo Jesu stabiles perseveretis, ac firmi; quatenus hoc quod per hanc stolam significatur, in die districti judicii ante tribunal Domini sine macula repræsentare valeatis: ipso auxiliante, cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum.*

"*Postea tradat episcopus sanctum evangelium, dicens:*

"Accipe potestatem legendi

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* This prayer seems to have been peculiar to the early English church, and possibly was retained from the still earlier British sacramentary. It occurs in two very ancient English pontificals; one of the eighth century formerly preserved at Jumièges, and the other, once St. Dunstan's, now in the public library at Paris. Cf. Martene, *De ant. ecc. rit.* tom. 2. p. 39.

Et ordinandus respondeat:

Et cum spiritu tuo.[63]

Post hæc tradat eis librum evangeliorum,[64] *dicens sine nota:*

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evangelium in ecclesia Dei, tam pro vivis quam et defunctis, in nomine Domini. Amen.

"Commune votum communis prosequatur oratio, ut hii totius ecclesiæ prece, qui in diaconatus ministerium præparantur, levitica benedictione et spirituali conversatione præfulgentes, gratia sanctificationis eluceant. Per eum qui vivit.

"*Oremus*. Domine sancte, Pater spei," &c.

An exhortation similar to the last ("Commune votum") is still used in the Roman pontifical: but placed at the beginning, immediately after the admonition to the deacons. I take the opportunity of again reminding the student of the numberless variations which existed between the old English uses and the Roman. This last he must carefully examine for himself.

[63] Neither the "Pax tecum" nor its response is ordered in the Bangor or Exeter MS.

[64] The Roman pontifical delivers the dalmatic before the book of the gospels. This rite of delivering the gospels was for many ages peculiar to the English church: nor is it mentioned by any of the early ritualists, St. Isidore, Amalarius, or Alcuin. Martene says that it is not to be found in any pontifical before the tenth century, those of English use alone excepted: and he continues: "Cum ergo solemnis fuerit in Anglia evangelii traditio reperiaturque in omnibus quos inde viderimus libris ritualibus, ab ea ecclesia hunc ritum initium traxisse facile colligitur."

Catalani (*Comment. in pontif.* tom. I. p. 119) rather hastily accuses Martene of an error in this statement, referring to the old ordo Romanus printed by Hittorpius for a similar direction as to the book of the gospels to be delivered to the deacons. But in fact that ordo does not mention the gospels: neither in the edition by Hittorpius himself, in 1568; nor in the first vol. of the "Auctarium" to the *Bibl. patrum.* Even if some other ordo Romanus might give such a direction it would yet remain to be proved that it was of an earlier date than the eleventh century; for there is no doubt that about that time it was introduced into the churches of France, and from thence would rapidly pass over into Italy.

But it seems best, upon a point of so much interest, to give the

In nomine sanctæ Trinitatis, accipe potestatem legendi evangelium in ecclesia Dei, tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis, in nomine Domini. Amen.

Ordinandus respondeat:

Deo gratias.

Sequitur benedictio[65] *cum nota.*

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Domine sancte Pater, fidei, spei, gratiæ, et perfectuum munerator, qui in cœlestibus et terrenis angelorum ministeriis ubique dispositis per omnia elementa voluntatis tuæ diffundis effectum: hos quoque famulos tuos speciali dignare illustrare as-

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original and earliest rubric, as it stands in the English pontificals of the eighth century:—

"*Postea tradat ei episcopus sanctum evangelium dicens:* Accipe illud volumen evangelii. Lege, et intellige, et aliis trade, et tu opere adimple."

In the same age, and very possibly derived from the same British source, there was another remarkable rite observed in the English church in the ordination of deacons, as is proved by the same pontificals: this was the anointing of the hands. After the benediction we have the following rubric and form: "*Consecratio manuum diaconi de oleo atque chrismate.* Consecrentur manus istæ, quæsumus Domine, et sanctificentur, per istam sanctam unctionem nostramque benedictionem, ut quæcumque benedixerint, benedicta sint; et quæcumque sanctificaverint, sanctificata sint. Per."

There is evidence that this rite also was for a short time adopted from England into France. This appears from a letter of pope Nicolas the first to an archbishop in that country: "præterea sciscitaris utrum solis presbyteris an diaconibus debeant, cum ordinantur, manus chrismatis liquore perungi." *Conc. Gall.* tom. 3. Upon this Menard's observation is: "Quod non interrogasset pontificem maximum Rodulphus, nisi id moris esse in diaconorum ordinatione alicubi in Gallia compertum habuisset." *Notæ in sacr. Greg. opera*, tom. 3. p. 502.

[65] "*Sequitur communis benedictio.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Bangor.*

pectu,[66] ut tuis obsequiis expediti, sanctis tuis altaribus ministri puri accrescant, et indulgentia puriores, eorum gradu, quos apostoli in septenario numero, beato Stephano duce ac prævio, sancto Spiritu auctore, elegerunt, digni existant, et virtutibus universis, quibus tibi servire oportet, instructi polleant.[67] Per Dominum. In unitate ejusdem.

Tunc tradat singulis eos circueundo dalmaticam,[68] *dicens sine nota:*[69]

Induat te Dominus vestimento salutis;

Ultimo concludendo ei qui lecturus est evangelium:

Et sit in corde, et in ore tuo, ad pronunciandum sanctum evangelium pacis. In nomine Patris.

Secundum Lucam.

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[66] "Hos quoque famulos tuos propitius digneris aspicere." *Pontif. Winton.* et *Exon.*

[67] "Instructi complaceant." *Pontif. Winton.* et *Exon.* "Instructi, tibi complaceant." *Pontif. Rom.*

[68] As above (note 47) it was observed that the tunic was of late introduction in the ordination of subdeacons, so the dalmatic was also adopted, and first in the case of monks, about the twelfth century. The Winchester pontifical does not notice it, as the student will see in the note below: and the English churches probably admitted it into their ordinals early in the thirteenth century, as it is ordered in the Bangor MS.

[69] "*Tunc unus diaconorum legat evangelium. Quo finito, exeant diaconi: et introducantur qui ordinandi sunt ad ordinem sacerdotii, induti more diaconi, ferentes in manibus suis casulam singuli.*" *Pontif. Winton.*

"*Tunc ille qui lecturus est evangelium benedictionem petat: cui episcopus dalmaticam tradat, dicens:* Induat te," &c. *Pontif. Bangor.*

"*Tunc det episcopus dalmaticam uni illorum cui vult, qui leget evangelium, dicens:* Induat te, &c. *Perlecto evangelio, et libro evangeliorum ab episcopo osculato, dicat episcopus,* Dominus vobiscum. *Et offertorium et omnia in missa peragat usque ad lotionem manuum; interim archidiaconus injungat cuilibet diaconorum tria psalteria, sicut prius, et dicat:* Recedant," &c. *Pontif. Exon.*

Anno quintodecimo imperii Tiberii Cæsaris, procurante Pontio Pilato Judæam, tetrarcha autem Galilææ Herode, Philippo autem fratre ejus tetrarcha Ituræ et Trachonitidis regionis, et Lysania Abilenæ tetrarcha, sub principibus sacerdotum Anna et Caiapha, factum est verbum Domini super Johannem, Zachariæ filium, in deserto. Et venit in omnem regionem Jordanis, prædicans baptismum pœnitentiæ in remissionem peccatorum, sicut scriptum est in libro sermonum Isaiæ prophetæ, vox clamantis in deserto, parate viam Domini, rectas facite semitas ejus. Omnis vallis implebitur, et omnis mons et collis humiliabitur, et erunt prava in directa, et aspera in vias planas. Et videbit omnis caro salutare Dei.

Post evangelium[70] *archidiaconus injungat eis aliquid certum, ut supra in ordinatione subdiaconorum, et etiam dominus episcopus concedat indulgentiam triginta dierum audientibus eorum prima evangelia.*

Deinde dicat archidiaconus:

Recedant qui ordinati sunt diaconi; accedant qui ordinandi sunt sacerdotes.

Caveatur de omni mutilatione membrorum, et maxime manuum, quas episcopo ostendant.[71] *Deinde episcopus dicat eis sine nota:*[72]

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[70] "*Lecto evangelio, episcopus . . . moneat eos, quod officio diaconale diligenter addiscant; scilicet qualiter presbytero subministrare debent, tam in calice quam in corporalibus disponendis; et de modo thurificandi, et manus lavandi, et alia ad se pertinentia exercendi.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Bainbridge*, p. 33.

[71] Few of the pontificals have this rubric, but it is in the pontifical of archbishop Bainbridge; early in the sixteenth century.

[72] "*Hos* [*sacerdotes*] *domnus præsul de dignitate officii sacerdotalis diligenter instruens, dicat:*

"Presbyteri præsunt ecclesiis Dei; et in consecratione cor-

Sacerdotem oportet offerre,[73] benedicere,[74] præesse, prædicare, conficere,[75] et baptizare.

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poris et sanguinis Christi, et officio prædicandi consortes sunt episcopis. Episcopi autem in cæteris officiis eis præsunt. Nam ad illos pertinet clericorum ordinatio: chrismatis et olei, et ecclesiarum altariorumque consecratio, et omnium instrumentorum ecclesiæ benedictio: ac plebis confirmatio. Cavere debent presbyteri, ne verbum Dei quod annunciant, pravis actibus vel moribus corrumpant: ne de eis merito fiat, quod Dominus ait per prophetam, 'cum ipsi limpidissimam aquam biberitis, reliquam pedibus vestris conculcabatis; et oves meæ quæ conculcata pedibus vestris fuerant pascebantur, et quæ pedes vestri turbaverant, hæc bibebant.' Hi cum in sacerdotio ordinantur, iterum accipiunt manus impositionem, cæteris presbyteris astantibus, manusque super eos orando levantibus. Manus vero eorum a sacro chrismate et oleo ab episcopo unguuntur, ut dignæ sint hostias Deo immolare, et languidos corpore et spiritu curare: et plenæ sint misericordiæ. Per oleum enim quod infirmitatem fugat, salutem et lucem ministrat, curatio et misericordia et bonorum operum lux designatur. Debent enim sacerdotes tantis pollere virtutibus, ut quoscumque orando tetigerint, vel pro quibuscumque oraverint, saluti restituant, eorumque bona opera coram hominibus ad eos accendendos, juxta Dominicam vocem, luceant. Balsamum quod miro odore fragrat, virtutum odorem designat. Ait enim apostolus, 'Christi bonus odor sumus.' Sacerdos enim Dominus fuit, cum seipsum, in cruce pendens, vivam hostiam summo Patri pro salute populi sui obtulit. De ipso enim ait propheta: 'Tu es sacerdos in æternum, secundum ordinem Melchisedech.'

"*Postea episcopus, inclinatis humiliter coram se, imponat manum super capita eorum: et omnes presbyteri qui adsunt, pariter cum eo: solo pontifice dicente:*

"Oremus, dilectissimi," &c. *Pontif. Winton.*

[73] This is a duty which since the beginning of the Christian Church has always been appropriated to the priesthood; nor is it within the power of the Church to extend it to any inferior order, much less to permit it to the laity. Upon a subject which has been so frequently discussed in all its details, I shall do no more than remind the reader of the fifteenth canon of the first council of Arles in the year 314, directed against the unhallowed usurpations of certain deacons: "De diaconibus, quos cognovi-

Benedicente eos episcopo postea,[76] *et manum super capita eorum tenente, et nihil eis dicente, et una manu*

mus multis locis offerre, placuit minime fieri debere." Mansi, tom. 2. col. 473. And the irrefragable authority of the council of Nice: *Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην σύνοδον, ὅτι ἔν τισι τόποις καὶ πόλεσι, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οἱ διάκονοι διδόασιν, ὥσπερ οὔτε ὁ κανὼν οὔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκε, τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν, τοῖς προσφέρουσι διδόναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.* Canon xviij.

[74] "S. Ephrem in sermone de timore Dei inquit, 'Honora sacerdotem, atque presbyteros, ut in te benedictio oris ipsorum perveniat.' De S. Antonio abbate refert in ejus vita S. Athanasius, quod episcopis quoque ac presbyteris ad benedicendum se caput submitteret. Porro cum sacerdotes consecrentur, ut sint præcipui Christi ministri, ut ait Apostolus in Epist. 1. ad Cor., et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei; ac præterea cum per benedictiones dispensentur gratiæ, et dona Dei; merito Ecclesia adnexuit ordini presbyteratus munus benedicendi; ita ut soli sacerdotes sint ministri benedictionum. . . . Hinc etiam iis, qui ob crimina presbyterali gradu moverentur, seu dignitatis suæ diminutione plecterentur, benedicendi facultatem ademptam legimus: nam S. Basilius in epist. can. ad Amphilochium, canone xxvij, decernit presbyterum, qui per ignorantiam nefariis nuptiis implicatus est, esse quidem cathedræ participem, ut scilicet cum aliis presbyteris sedere posset: 'ut is autem aliis benedicat, qui sua debet vulnera curare,' non esse consentaneum. . . . Tandem in iis verbis concludit: 'Nec ergo publice, nec privatim benedicat, nec Christi corpus aliis impertiat; nec aliquod aliud sacrum ministerium obeat.'" Catalani, *In pontif.* tom. 1. p. 127.

The same writer observes: "Sane cavendum summopere est sacerdoti ne benedictiones, quæ ad majoris dignitatis officium pertinent, temere vel imperite usurpet. Sunt enim in missali, et rituali nonnullæ benedictiones, quæ non ad sacerdotes simpliciter, sed vel ad episcopum, vel ad alios facultatem habentes spectant." The student should refer to the dissertation on the occasional offices, in the first volume of this work.

[75] This word is not added in many pontificals, in this or corresponding admonitions: compare the modern Roman use. It is not easy to say whether it was an unnecessary addition, because all which it signified was already included in the term "offerre" and hence therefore its omission; but the reader may gather its meaning from the

tangente, et omnes presbyteri qui præsentes sunt, manus suas super capita eorum levatas teneant.[77]

Sequitur præfatio sacerdotum, cum nota, stando.

Oremus, dilectissimi, Deum Patrem omnipotentem, ut super hos famulos suos,[78] quos ad presbyterii

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following canon of a council under Louis I; which is important also in its bearing upon other parts of this admonition: "Presbyteris enim, sicut episcopis, dispensatio mysteriorum Dei commissa est: præsunt enim ecclesiæ Christi; et in confectione divini corporis et sanguinis consortes cum episcopis sunt; similiter et in doctrina populorum, et in officio prædicandi." *Synodus Aquisgranensis*, can. vij.

[76] Again, we find almost these same words in the often quoted Carthaginian council: "Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant." Can. iij. I need scarcely remind the reader of the charge given to Timothy by St. Paul, and the allusion to his own ordination. The imposition of the hands of the attendant priests, together with the bishop's, is thus to be traced to the primitive and apostolic ages; but not as an essential rite: never having been considered in any other respect than as adding to the solemnity of the ordination, and as a mark of reception into the sacred brotherhood of priests.

It has been asked, however, with regard to the imposition of hands by the bishop, why this is necessary, having already been observed in the ordination to the diaconate. Catalani (*Comment. in pontif.* tom. 1. p. 130) says this is an ancient difficulty, and we certainly find it considered not only by Durand but by Amalarius as early as the ninth century. I quote the answer of this last author, who (it may be remarked) is followed by Durand (lib. 2. ix. 15) almost word for word: "Quare hoc? nisi quia per consecrationem de opere ad opus transit, sicut de ministerio diaconi transit ad immolationem sacerdotalem. Quoniam nec illud opus, nec illud possumus agere, nisi dono gratiæ Dei adjuti, ut ait apostolus. Repetitur manus impositio, ac sic deprecatio primi operis transit ad deprecationem secundi." *De ecc. off.* lib. 2. cap. 12.

[77] "*Postea episcopus populum commoneat, dicens sine nota:* Commune votum communis oratio," &c. *Pontif. Exon.* See above, note 62.

[78] "Quorum nomina hic recitantur." *Pontif. Winton.*

munus elegit, cœlestia dona multiplicet,[79] et quod ejus dignatione suscipiunt, ipsius consequantur auxilio.

Oremus.

Diaconus.

Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Exaudi nos, quæsumus Domine, Deus noster, et super hos famulos tuos bene✠dictionem sancti Spiritus, et gratiæ spiritualis[80] effunde virtutem: ut quos tuæ pietatis aspectibus offerimus consecrandos, perpetua muneris tui largitate prosequaris: *non terminando secrete:* per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate.

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus: honorum dator, et distributor omnium dignitatum, per quem proficiunt universa, per quem cuncta firmantur, amplificatis semper in melius naturæ rationalis incrementis, per ordinem congrua ratione dispositum. Unde et sacerdotales gradus, atque officia levitarum, sacramentis mysticis instituta creverunt, ut cum

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[79] "Per Christum." *Pontif. Winton.*

[80] "Et gratiæ sacerdotalis." *Pontif. Winton.* et *Exon.*

pontifices summos[81] regendis populis præfecisses, ad eorum societatis et operis adjumentum, sequentis ordinis viros et secundæ dignitatis eligeres. Sic et in eremo per septuaginta virorum prudentium mentes, Moysi spiritum propagasti; quibus ille adjutoribus usus in populo, innumerabiles multitudines facile gubernavit. Sic et in Eleazarum et Ithamar filios Aaron, paternæ plenitudinis abundantiam transfudisti; ut ad hostias salutares et frequentioris officii sacramenta, ministerium sufficeret sacerdotum: hac providentia, Domine, apostolis Filii tui doctores fidei comites addidisti; quibus illi orbem totum secundis prædicationibus impleverunt. Quapropter infirmitati quoque nostræ, Domine quæsumus, hæc adjumenta largire, qui quanto fragiliores sumus, tanto his pluribus indigemus. Da, quæsumus omnipotens Deus, in hos famulos tuos presbyterii dignitatem, et innova in visceribus eorum spiritum sanctitatis, ut acceptum a te, Deus, secundi meriti munus obtineant, censuramque morum exemplo suæ conversationis insinuent. Sint providi[82] cooperatores ordinis nostri, et eluceat in eis totius forma justitiæ, ut bonam rationem dispensationis sibi creditæ reddituri, æternæ beatitudinis præmia consequantur: *terminando secrete:*

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[81] "Notatu dignum in ea præfatione illud est, quod episcopi vocantur *pontifices summi*. Eo nomine eos olim appellatos fuisse edocemur ex epistola Melchiadis, &c. . . . Neque vero solum pontifices summi, sed et summi sacerdotes, pontifices maximi, et principes sacerdotum honoris causa olim episcopi nominabantur." Catalani, tom. I. p. 235. The title seems to have been intended to distinguish the *chorepiscopi*.

[82] "Sint probi cooperatores." *Pontif. Winton.* The earlier, and probably the true reading. The Roman pontifical has adopted "providi."

Per eundem Dominum. In unitate ejusdem.

Hic reflectat episcopus stolam super humerum eorum dextrum ad pectus,[83] *dicens eis per singulos, sine nota:*

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[83] As the corresponding rubric of the Roman pontifical explains the meaning of the somewhat obscure one in the text, I insert it here: "*Pontifex . . . reflectit orarium, sive stolam ab humero sinistro cujuslibet, capiens partem quæ retro pendet, et imponens super dexterum humerum, aptat eam ante pectus, in modum crucis.*"

The stole, in the ordination of priests, is not noticed in the Gregorian sacramentary or in other of the early pontificals of foreign churches: and Martene's conjecture is probably correct, that it was considered unnecessary to repeat this rite. But it would seem that in this case also we have another remnant of the primitive use of the British church: for in those very ancient pontificals of Egbert and St. Dunstan, which I before spoke of, we find the stole appointed to be delivered again to priests: and it must be remembered that these manuscripts carry us up to almost the time when the first Saxons were converted, and communion again sought for with the British church. The first rubric in those pontificals is:—

"*Presbyter cum ordinatur, circumdentur humeri ejus cum stola ab episcopo.*"

On account of the importance of it, and the great authority of these English pontificals, I extract here also the rest of this rubric: "*Et ibidem tituletur specialiter ad qualem ecclesiam debeat ministrare, et benedicente eum episcopo, manum super caput ejus ponat. Similiter et presbyteri, qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant et componant.*"

But to return to the stole: it was not long before the custom of the English church was introduced into France, and from thence probably into other countries. For we find the stole recognised as a peculiar part of a priest's vestments as early as the beginning of the ninth century; and this, not only when engaged in the performance of his duties but as a distinction to be attached to his constant dress: and it would naturally follow that a solemn investiture should form a part of the solemnities of ordination. Thus we have these canons (cited by Martene, tom. 2. p. 23): "Presbyteri sine intermissione utantur orario propter differentiam sacerdotii dignitatis." Conc. Mogunt. can. 28.

Accipe jugum Domini: jugum enim ejus suave est, et onus ejus leve.[84] Stola innocentiæ induat te Dominus.[85]

A.D. 813. "Presbyteri non vadant nisi stola vel orario induti." Conc. Tribur. can. 26. And John of Salisbury tells us, in his life of archbishop Becket, "stolam jugum Christi suave circa collum diebus ac noctibus habebat."

That this was the general symbolical meaning of the stole is clear from many writers. Alcuin says: "Orarium, id est, stola, dicitur eo quod oratoribus, id est, prædicatoribus concedatur. Admonet illum, qui illo induitur, ut memor sit, sub jugo Christi, quod leve et suave est, esse se constitutum." Cap. "Quid significent vestimenta," Hittorpius, p. 77. Again, Amalarius: "Per stolam designatur onus leve ac suave, de quo Dominus dicit: *Tollite jugum meum*, etc. Per jugum, evangelium intelligimus.—In eo quod stola ad genua tendit, quæ solent curvari causa humilitatis, hoc intelligimus, quod Dominus dicit: *Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde.* Sciat se diaconus in stola superposita collo, ministrum evangelii esse, non præpositum." *De ecc. off.* lib. 2. cap. 20. To the same purpose also Durand, in his *Rationale*, lib. 3. cap. 5: whom it is unnecessary to quote, except this sentence: "stola ab humero sinistro sacerdotis in dextrum dum ordinatur reflectitur, quia cum obedientia incipiat ab activa per dilectionem proximi, transit in contemplativam vitam per dilectionem Dei." § 3. But the reader who wishes to discover more of the mystical significations of the stole, and other ecclesiastical vestments, will find enough to repay (?) his labour in this third book of Durand.

[84] The Winchester MS. places this sentence after the investing with the chasuble and the form "Accipe vestem."

The Bangor MS. omits the form "Accipe vestem."

The Exeter pontifical reads:—

".... onus ejus leve. Pax tecum. *Resp.* Et cum spiritu tuo. *Postea imponat cuilibet successive casulam usque ad scapulas, quam quilibet teneat sic complicatam a parte anteriori deorsum dependentem, dicens cuilibet:* Stola innocentiæ induat te Dominus. *Resp.* Deo gratias. *Episcopus subjungit in fine:* Accipe vestem," &c.

[85] The form in the pontificals of Egbert and Dunstan was: "stola justitiæ circumdet Dominus cervicem tuam, et ab omni corruptione peccati purificet Dominus mentem tuam."

Pax tecum.

Resp. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Hic vestiat eos casula circa humeros,[86] *tantum dicens ad unumquemque:*

Accipe vestem sacerdotalem, per quam caritas intelligitur: potens est enim Deus augere tibi caritatem, et opus perfectum.[87]

Resp. Deo gratias.

Sequitur consecratio cum,[88]

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Oratio. Deus, sanctificationum [89] omnium auctor,

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[86] In the Dunstan and other earliest English pontificals the chasuble was not put on until after the anointing had been completed. The following in some MSS. are the rubric and form of words: "*Et induat casula, et dicit episcopus:* Per hæc indumenta stolam et casulam salutis indui merearis æternæ perpetuitatis plenitudine, cum sanctis sacerdotibus Christo ministrantibus: ut præmia feliciter capessere valeas repromissa. Per."

The meaning of "circa humeros" is explained by the rubric of the revised Roman pontifical: "*Postea imponit cuilibet successive casulam usque ad scapulas, quam quilibet teneat super humeros complicatam, a parte interiori deorsum dependentem, singulis dicens:* Accipe," &c. The chasuble remained unrolled until nearly the end of the mass. See below.

[87] "Casula quæ super omnia indumenta ponitur, significat charitatem, quæ alias virtutes excellit." Alcuin, ut supra. And see Durand, lib. 3.

[88] "*Benedictio, vel consecratio, manuum sacerdotis ante unctionem chrismatis:*

"Benedic, Domine, et sanctifica has manus sacerdotum tuorum *N.* ad consecrandas hostias, quæ pro delictis atque negligentiis populi offeruntur; et ad cætera benedicenda quæ ad usus populi necessaria sunt; et præsta, quæsumus, ut quæcunque benedixerint, benedicantur, et quæcunque sacraverint, sacrentur, Salvator mundi: Qui vivis et regnas, Deus. Per.

"*Consecratio manuum sacerdotis de oleo et chrismate:*

"Consecrare et sanctificare," &c. *Pontif. Winton.*

[89] This prayer is in the sacramentary of St. Gregory, and other MSS. In the pontificals

cujus vera consecratio, plenaque benedictio est, tu, Domine, super hos famulos tuos, quos presbyterii honore dedicamus, munus tuæ benedictionis effunde: ut gravitate actuum et censura vivendi probent se esse seniores, his instituti disciplinis, quas Tito et Timotheo Paulus exposuit, ut in lege tua die ac nocte meditantes, quod legerint credant, quod crediderint doceant, quod docuerint imitentur; justitiam, constantiam, misericordiam, fortitudinem, cæterasque virtutes in se ostendant, exemplo probent, admonitione confirment, ac purum et immaculatum ministerii sui donum custodiant: et per obsequium plebis tuæ, panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem Filii tui sancta et immaculata benedictione transforment, et inviolabili caritate, in virum perfectum, in mensuram ætatis plenitudinis Christi, in die justi et æterni judicii, conscientia pura, fide plena, Spiritu sancto pleni persolvant. Per eundem. In unitate ejusdem.

Expleta autem hac oratione,[90] *genuflectendo coram altari incipiat episcopus hymnum:*

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of Egbert and Dunstan it is entitled *Consummatio Presbyteri:* which, in sense, is retained in the Winchester pontifical, as the reader will observe in the note below.

[90] "*Qua dicta, episcopus cum omnibus ministris suis ante altare in medio genuflectat, cantando hymnum,* Veni creator Spiritus. *Et chorus prosequatur. Et incipiat episcopus cum suis ministris quemlibet versum illius hymni, et chorus prosequatur. Hymno dicto sedeat episcopus, sicut prius, et perungat oleo sancto chrismate mixto in patena, manus cujuslibet sacerdotis ordinandi, a pollice dextro ad indicem manus sinistræ: deinde ab indice dextro ad pollicem sinistrum, dicens:* Consecrare et sanctificare," &c. *Pontif. Exon.*

The Bangor MS. after the hymn "Veni creator" directs:—

"*Postea accipiat oleum sanctum, cui misceatur chrisma, pro eo quod in consecratione chrismatis fit mentio de ordinibus ecclesiasticis per ipsum perficiendis:*

Veni creator Spiritus, etc.[91]

Dicto hymno, omnibus surgentibus, episcopus stando benedicat manus ordinandorum expansas, cum nota.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Bene✠dic et sancti✠fica, Domine, has manus sacerdotum tuorum ad consecrandas hostias, quæ pro delictis atque negligentiis populi offeruntur: et ad cætera benedicenda, quæ ad usus ejus necessaria sunt. Per Christum.

Quæ quidem oratio potest dici vel dimitti ad placitum episcopi.

Postea[92] *episcopus depositis chirothecis et resumpto*

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et faciens crucem super ambas manus, dicat singulis: Conse✠crare, et sancti✠ficare," &c.

[91] This hymn is not appointed in the Winchester pontifical, and it would appear that it was introduced into this part of the offices of the western Church late in the eleventh century. The earliest MS. in which it has been found is (I believe) a pontifical "ad usum ecclesiæ Suessionensis" of about that date, from which Martene has printed his "vij. ordo;" tom. 2. p. 50. That manuscript seems to have been remarkably deficient in rubrics, but the "Veni creator Spiritus" is added after the prayer "Consecrare."

"Hymno 'Veni creator' quo Spiritus sanctus invocatur, ex veterum sententia singularisquædam vis inest. Præterea S. Trinitati tam gratus est ut, si mens concordet voci, Spiritus sanctus non possit quin cum septem suis muneribus cantantibus adveniat. Septem dona Spiritus sancti sunt timor, pietas, scientia, fortitudo, consilium, intellectus, sapientia. Unde versus:

"Sap. intel. con. for. sci. pi. ti. collige dona." Daniel, *Thes. hymnol.* tom. 1. p. 215. Cf. Clichtoveus, *Elucidatorium*, p. 40.

[92] I have spoken somewhat already in the preliminary dissertation upon the rite of unction. Here it may be observed that the earlier practice of the English church, as shown by the pontificals of Egbert and Dunstan, was to anoint the head also: the order of the first is, "*Consecratio manus:* Benedic, Domine, et sanctifica has manus, &c. *Faciens crucem sanctam de chrismale in manibus ejus, dicis:*

annulo sedeat, et expansa toballia super genua accipiat oleum sanctum, cui misceatur chrisma, pro eo quod in consecratione chrismatis fit mentio de ordinibus ecclesiasticis per ipsum perficiendis: scilicet, quando episcopus incipit, Conse✠crare et sancti✠ficare digneris, Domine Deus, manus istas, *faciat cruces singulas ad illa duo verba, super manus sacerdotis, et intingat pollicem manus dexteræ suæ in oleo et chrismate commixtis super patenam in bombace seu cotone; dicendo hæc verba,* Per istam unctionem, *faciat crucem super manus sacerdotis cum dicto oleo et chrismate, et ungendos incipiendo crucem unctionis intra manus sacerdotis a principio pollicis manus dexteræ presbyteri, usque ad finem manus sinistræ indicis sacerdotis. Item incipiendo in secunda*

Consecrentur manus istæ: &c. *Consecratio capitis oleo:* Unguatur et consecretur caput tuum cœlesti benedictione in ordine sacerdotali, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Pax tibi. Et cum spiritu tuo." With which in that MS. the ordination of priests concludes. The Dunstan pontifical, as I have just said, also anoints the head with the same form of words: but it omits the rubric as to the sign of the cross, and proceeds afterwards to direct the investing with the chasuble, and some other prayers. From the omission of all notice of this rite in the Winchester pontifical we may conclude that it was omitted by the English church about the tenth or eleventh century.*

In the same way with the other (if I may so say) primitive customs of the English church, above spoken of, this rite also seems to have been introduced for a time into some of the churches of France. Two early manuscripts (of about the ninth century) are shown by Martene, in his extracts from them, to have adopted it.

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* This however admits of doubt if a manuscript said by Martene, tom. 2. p. 23, to have belonged to St. Thomas archbishop of Canterbury really was his; for in that also the same rite is ordered.

unctione, complendo crucem a principio indicis manus dextræ presbyteri usque ad finem pollicis manus sinistræ.[93]

Sequitur consecratio manuum sacerdotis.

Conse✠crare et sancti✠ficare digneris, Domine, manus istas per istam unctionem et nostram bene✠dictionem, ut quæcunque consecraverint conse✠crentur, et quæcunque benedixerint benedicantur, et sanctificentur, in nomine Domini nostri, Jesu Christi.

Postea[94] *lavet manus suas si voluerit, vel imponatur digitale .i. ponsir.*[95] *quousque lavat manus suas. Quo facto, accipiat patenam cum oblatis et calicem*[96]

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[93] A writer of the tenth century explains: "Manus sacerdotis, quæ in figura crucis oleo sancto signantur, confirmantur manibus Christi; et illud insigne miraculum et salutiferum, quod inter manus Christi operantur, qui ait, *Sine me nihil potestis facere.* Unde cum ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso totum agitur sacrificium." Steph. Eduensis, *De sacram. altaris*, cap. ix.

[94] "*Deinde patenam cum oblatis, et calicem cum vino det singulis, dicens ad eos lenta voce:* Accipite (*sic*) potestatem," &c. *Pontif. Winton.*

"*Hoc facto, accipiat patenam cum oblatis, et calicem cum vino, et det singulis, ita dicens:* Accipe potestatem," &c. *Pontif. Bangor.*

"*Et jungat manus eorum, et sic teneant manus suas junctas usque in finem missæ, quibus taliter expeditis, episcopus manus lavet, et post tradat cuilibet calicem, cum vino et aqua, et patenam superpositam cum hostia, quem accipiant inter indices et medios digitos, primo videlicet pedem calicis, et post hostiam in medio patenæ, dicens cuilibet:* Accipe potestatem," &c. *Pontif. Exon.*

[95] The "ponsir" or "ponser" seems to have been a kind of metal thumbstall, usually of gold or silver. As no notice of such an ornament occurs in any foreign pontifical we may not be wrong in supposing that the use of it was limited to the dioceses of England. The object was to protect the holy oil which might possibly remain upon the thumb after the anointing, so that it might not be accidentally rubbed off against the vestment.

[96] The student will find some observations on this part of the

cum vino, et det singulis, inter indices et medios digitos, cuppam calicis cum patena, remanentibus manibus junctis, ita dicens sine nota, et eos circumeundo:

Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo, missamque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis. In nomine Domini Jesu Christi.

Resp. Deo gratias.

Tunc vertat[97] *episcopus, et dicat offertorium.*

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office in Martene and Morinus, to which I must refer him: and merely remind him that no mention of this rite is made in the English pontificals before the eleventh century. Nor is it to be found in the early sacramentaries of Gelasius or Gregory, or in the often quoted canons of the fourth Carthaginian council.

[97] "*Tunc dicat episcopus* Dominus vobiscum. Oremus. *Canteturque offertorium, totamque celebret missam usque ad benedictionem.*" *Pontif. Bangor.*

"*Post hæc procedat in missa.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

The Winchester pontifical is very different from the other three from hence to the end of the office: and I extract the remainder entire, as it is in that ancient manuscript. It thus proceeds, after the form "Accipite potestatem" (see above, note 94):—

"*Ad consummandum presbyteratus officium.*

"Sit nobis, fratres, communis oratio, ut hi qui in adjutorium et utilitatem nostræ salutis eliguntur presbyteri, benedictione Divini muneris indulgentiam consequantur; et gratia sancti Spiritus sacerdotalia dona privilegio virtutum, ne impares loco honoris deprehendantur, obtineant. Per eum qui vivit.

"*Item oratio.* Oremus.

"Deus sanctificationum omnium auctor, cujus vera consecratio, &c. (*ut supra.*)

"*Sequitur ultima benedictio.*

"Benedictio Dei Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti descendat super vos, ut sitis benedicti in ordinem sacerdotalem; offerentes placabiles hostias pro peccatis et offensionibus vestris, et populi, omnipotenti Deo, cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

"Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum.

"*Et osculetur singulos. Et omnes qui ordinandi sunt* (*sic*) *oblationes deferant ad manus episcopi, nec aliquis abscedat, donec missa perfiniatur.*

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Offert. Exulta filia Sion: prædica filia Hierusalem: ecce rex tuus venit tibi sanctus, et salvator.

Vers. Loquetur pacem gentibus, et potestas ejus a mare usque ad mare, et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terræ.

Dum cantatur offertorium,[98] *ponantur tot hostiæ*

"*Benedictio in missa ordinationis clericorum, in quocunque tempore ordinentur.*

"Deus, qui de diversis ordinibus sanctam suam ecclesiam collocavit in unius fidei fundamento, corda vestra ad exequenda mandatorum suorum præcepta consociare dignetur unitatis vinculo. *Amen.*

"Sicque vos altaris sui ministros efficiat, ut bonorum operum forma aliis effecti, et de ejusdem servitutis obsequio remuneremini, et ejus templum jugiter esse mereamini. *Amen.*

"Quatenus corpore et mente in conspectu illius placentes, et de animarum lucro sanctarum gaudeatis, et ab eo præmium vitæ æternæ percipere valeatis. *Amen.*

"Quod ipse. Benedictio."

[98] I must remind the student that the whole of the office of the mass, including the secrets and the canon, is now said in the Roman catholic church, so that the newly ordained priests may hear: not as is usual, in a tone so low that none can hear except the priest who celebrates. The modern pontifical has a rubric to this express effect: "*Secretas morose dicat, ut ordinandi ad sacerdotium possint illas cum eo dicere, debent enim ex consuetudine concelebrare, et etiam verba consecrationis proferre.*" I mention this because the points involved in the practice, although it be an exception, are of very high importance: more especially the repetition, by all, of the words of consecration. There is moreover evidence that in the early ages priests not only at their ordination but at other times, and throughout the Christian world, celebrated the Divine Service together with the bishop. See Morinus, *de sacr. ordin.* par. iij. dissert. 8. cap. 1; Catalani, *In pontif. Rom.* tom. 1. p. 46, and Martene, tom. 2. p. 24.

The chief point involved in this matter (to which perhaps attention may be drawn) is its bearing upon the question of the

quot sufficiant presbyteris ordinandis ad communicandum.[99]

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consecration of the sacred elements by the mere repetition of the words of institution. There can be no doubt that both in the eastern and western churches the practice of "concelebration" was on certain occasions allowed; nor are any difficulties involved in it, until we come to the further enquiry whether by the mere words of institution, and by them alone, the holy eucharist is consecrated. Then certainly we must deal with the question (I use the words of Catalani): "An presbytero cum episcopo concelebranti adscribi debeat consecratio, si ante episcopum verba consecrationis protulerit?" *In pontif. Rom. comment.* tom. 1. p. 142. He answers it by making the whole effect depend upon intention; and cites pope Innocent the third, whose words are: "Sane dici, et responderi probabiliter potest, quod sive prius sive posterius proferant sacerdotes, referri debet eorum intentio ad instar prolationis episcopi, cui concelebrant." *Lib.* iv. *de mysteriis missæ.* It will be observed that the pope speaks doubtfully; and Catalani allows that many writers propose to get rid of the difficulty by a rubric that the words of institution should be said by the celebrant alone. Among these were Durand (in iv. distinct. xiij. quæst. iij), who plainly says that Innocent decides "ut doctor, et non ut papa;" Cajetan in iij. part. *S. Thomæ,* quæst. lxxxij; and Gabriel Biel, *In canon. missæ,* lect. vj. To these may also be added Morinus, who declares that the general practice once allowed had very properly been restricted, "præsertim cum mos ille fuerit doctoribus scholasticis innumerarum difficultatum seges amplissima, nonnullis asserentibus hoc fieri posse, aliis negantibus, aliis certos quosdam possibilitatis modos et terminos excogitantibus; omnibus deinde ut sese ab adversariorum telis tuerentur, novas et involutas reculas, ὑπηνεμίους καὶ ἀνεμοφορήτους cudentibus et recudentibus." And he proceds to cite a whole host of schoolmen, and others; *De s. ordin.* pars iij. p. 126.

[99] For some time after the chalice was denied to the laity, and to all in fact except the officiating priest, it was usual at ordinations to communicate in both kinds all who had been ordained. Martene cites a pontifical which directs the communion to be thus given: and the next restriction seems to have been that communion in both kinds was to be allowed only when the pope himself ordained. I think it well to quote this from a MS. Roman pontifical in the Colbertine

Tunc dicat episcopus:

Quid retribuam Domino: *more solito.*

Postea episcopus fricet digitum suum cum pane, deinde abluat manus. Ablutis manibus, episcopus revertat se ad altare, ad divinum officium exequendum.

Secretum.

Super has hostias fidelium, Domine quæsumus, propitio vultu respice, et quia nostris meritis non valemus, his potius muneribus tuo occursui commendemur.

Aliud secretum.

Tuis, quæsumus Domine, operare mysteriis, ut hæc tibi munera dignis mentibus offeramus. Per Dominum nostrum.

Præfatio quotidiana.

Deinde dicat episcopus totam missam usque ad benedictionem dandam:[1] *post* per omnia sæcula sæculorum, *ante* Agnus Dei *dicat diaconus:*

Humiliate vos.

Tunc, dimisso corpore Christi super patenam, convertat se ad populum, et accepto baculo det benedictionem istam, vel aliam tempori competentem:

Omnipotens Deus sua vos clementia benedicat,[2]

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library, as printed by Martene, tom. 2. p. 85:—

"*Post communionem vero pontificis, ante perfusionem, ordinati flexis genibus, facta confessione, et osculata dextra pontificis, sacram communionem recipiunt de manu pontificis, recipiendo osculum pacis ab eo, scilicet presbyteri et diaconi: sanguinem autem recipient de manu diaconi qui cantavit evangelium, et redeunt ad loca sua circa altare. Si alius a papa ordinationem faciat, communicabunt omnes sacerdotes primo, diaconi secundo, et subdiaconi tertio de corpore Domini tantum, et non de sanguine.*"

[1] "*Ad benedictionem dicat diaconus,* Humiliate," &c. *Pontif. Bangor.*

"*Sequatur solemnis benedictio.*" *Pontif. Exon.*

[2] "Bene ✠ dicat." *Pontif. Bangor.*

et sensum in vobis sapientiæ salutaris infundat. Amen.

Catholicæ fidei vos documentis enutriat, et in sanctis operibus perseverabiles reddat. Amen.

Gressus vestros ab errore convertat, et viam vobis pacis et caritatis ostendat. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet: in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Patris ✠ et Filii ✠ et Spiritus ✠ sancti, descendat super vos et maneat semper. Amen.[3]

Deinde dicat episcopus:

Et pax ejus.

Post communionem episcopi, sacerdotes accedant[4] *ad communicandum.*[5]

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[3] "*Data benedictione, accedant ad pacem et communionem sacerdotes, et levitæ si voluerint: antequam dicatur collecta ad complendum, ponat episcopus manus super capita singulorum, dicens:* Accipe Spiritum," &c. *Pontif. Bangor.*

"*Postquam episcopus fuerit communicatus, communicet sacerdotes, et levitas si voluerit: et postea induat chirothecas et mitram, et teneat in manu sinistra baculum pastoralem, et ponat manum dextram super caput cujuslibet sacerdotis, dicens:* Accipe Spiritum," &c. *Pontif. Exon.*

[4] There can be no doubt that if any deacons or subdeacons were ordained at the same time they would also receive communion, although the Sarum rubric does not order it. The Bangor and Exeter pontificals just quoted include them.

In such a case, the deacons would say the *Confiteor;* but, according to the modern Roman pontifical, not the priests; "*quia concelebrant pontifici.*"

[5] The English pontifical does not make any mention of a custom, which was possibly nevertheless observed, of kissing the hand of the bishop before communion. The modern Roman pontifical has a rubric to that effect, and Durand in his *Rationale* speaks of it as the common practice in his time; lib. 2. cap. x. But with this difference,—and it would be curious to discover whether such was

Postea dicatur communio.

Exultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam: a summo cœlo egressio ejus, et occursus ejus usque ad summum ejus.

Antequam[6] *dicatur postcommunio, ponat episcopus manus suas super capita singulorum, dicens:*

Accipe Spiritum sanctum: quorum remiseris peccata, remittuntur eis: et quorum retinueris, retenta erunt.[7]

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the practice continued in the church of England,—viz. that the bishop kissed each newly ordained priest, but the others, deacons, &c., kissed the bishop's hand. And the reason he gives for this is important, and will excuse (I trust) the length of this note: "Quia pontifex osculando sacerdotem denotat, quod ille ad æqualitatem ordinis recipitur, quantum ad sacramentum eucharistiæ consecrandum, quod est sacramentum amoris, quod per osculum significatur. Diaconus vero et subdiaconus non recipiuntur ad talem æqualitatem, sed ad imitationem bonæ operationis," &c.

[6] In this place the Roman pontifical has this rubric: "*Incepto responsorio, pontifex, accepta mitra, vertit se ad presbyteros ordinatos, qui ante altare coram ipso stantes profitentur fidem, quam prædicaturi sunt dicentes:* Credo in Deum," &c. This does not appear to be an improper addition to the old office, although the reason why it should have been placed here is not very obvious. There is no ancient authority for its introduction, except one pontifical of the thirteenth century, cited by Catalani (*Comment. in pontif. Rom.* tom. 1. p. 148), in which the creed is ordered to be said before the ordination service commenced. But there is a canon of the eleventh council of Toledo: "Ut unusquisque qui ad ecclesiasticos gradus est accessurus, non ante honorem consecrationis accipiat, quam placiti sui innodatione promittat, ut fidem catholicam sincera cordis devotione custodiens, juste et pie vivere debeat, et ut in nullis operibus suis, canonicis regulis contradicat." Mansi, *Concil.* tom. xi. col. 143.

[7] This very important part of the office of ordination of priests is, comparatively, of late introduction. I doubt whether any example of it is to be discovered earlier than the twelfth century: and although it had been adopted into the use of the church of Bangor before the end of the

Tunc trahat unicuique casulam in sinu per scapulas, osculans eum,[8] *et dicens:*[9]

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next century, we have no trace of it in the Winchester pontifical. All the great ritualists have failed, and acknowledge it, in their search after earlier authority. Martene has cited an undoubtedly very remarkable passage, from the life of a bishop of Cambrai, who lived in the tenth century; where the writer is speaking of that bishop being ordained priest, and among other circumstances remarks: "Cumque ad manus impositionem pontificalis diceretur novo presbytero, 'Accipe Spiritum sanctum, quorum remiseris peccata,'" &c. Martene's criticism is: "Verum quid unicum testimonium tot pontificalibus libris opponendum?" tom. 2. p. 23.

All the early pontificals omit this second imposition of hands, and explicit delivery of the power to remit or retain sins. It is not in the early English manuscripts of Egbert or Dunstan or the Winchester use; it is not in any of the foreign orders, printed by Martene, before the twelfth century; it is not in the old sacramentaries of St. Gregory or Gelasius; and, lastly, not one of the ancient ritualists, Isidore, or Amalarius, or Strabo, Alcuin, Micrologus, or Ivo Carnotensis, alludes to it in the most distant terms.

Ordination to the priesthood was completed when the words were said above, "Accipe potestatem offerre," &c. Now, with imposition of hands there is a further gift of the Holy Spirit, conveying distinctly the power of remitting sins. But it is the power only; and for the valid exercise of this prerogative of the priesthood jurisdiction is necessary. No priest can validly absolve a penitent, except "in articulo mortis," without faculties from the ordinary.

[8] See above, p. 230, note 5.

[9] The Roman rubric somewhat explains this: "*Deinde explicans casulam, quam unusquisque habet super humeros complicatam, induit illa quemlibet, singulis dicens:* Stola innocentiæ induat te Dominus." It is not easy to understand why these words should be said here: in the old English pontificals they were said, with more propriety, at the putting on of the stole: see above, p. 220.

Also in the Roman use an oath or promise of canonical obedience follows here. The rubric is, "*Et mox unusquisque iterum ad pontificem accedit, et genuflexus ponit manus suas junctas inter manus pontificis dicentis cuilibet, si suus est ordinarius,* Promittis mihi, et successoribus

Pax Domini sit semper tecum.

Et ordinandus [sic] respondeat:

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Et per manus[10] *commendet se orationibus eorum singulis, dicens:*

Ora pro me, frater.

Sequitur finalis benedictio cum nota stando, et ad eos converso:

Benedictio Dei Patris ✠, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus ✠ sancti, descendat super vos, ut sitis benedicti in ordine sacerdotali, et offeratis placabiles hostias pro peccatis atque offensionibus populi, omnipotenti

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meis reverentiam et obedientiam? *et ille respondet:* Promitto." Both Martene and Catalani agree that this is a ceremony of late introduction at least in this place after communion. But for the act of a promise of obedience from the priest to his bishop, at some time before and generally immediately before the rite itself of ordination, we have sufficient evidence.

Thus, Martene cites some pontificals of about the eleventh century in which, at the commencement of the office, we find this question asked by the bishop: "Vis episcopo tuo, ad cujus parochiam ordinandus es, obediens et consentiens esse, secundum justitiam et ministerium?" To which the candidate is to reply, "Volo." But this learned writer might also have appealed to the same canon (the tenth) of the council of Toledo, A.D. 675, which I quoted above: "Placuit huic sancto concilio ... ut debitum per omnia honorem, atque obsequii reverentiam præeminenti sibi unusquisque dependat, juxta illud beati papæ Leonis edictum; Qui scit se quibusdam esse præpositum, non moleste ferat aliquem sibi esse prælatum, sed obedientiam quam exigit, etiam ipse dependat." Mansi, *Concil.* tom. xi. col. 143.

[10] "*Et episcopus complectens indices utriusque manus cujuslibet ordinati sacerdotis, osculando dicat:* Ora pro me, frater. *Et tunc redeat ad altare, et super ordinatos sacerdotes dicat benedictionem:* Benedictio Dei," &c. *Pontif. Exon.*

The Bangor MS. agrees with the text; except that it calls the benediction "*communis benedictio.*"

Deo: cui est honor, et gloria, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[11]

Quibus expletis, proponat eis episcopus stando sine nota:[12]

Quia res quam tractaturi estis satis periculosa est, fratres carissimi, moneo ut diligenter et honeste totius missæ ordinem, et consecrationem, et fractionem, atque communicationem, ab aliis jam doctis sacerdotibus discatis, priusquam missam cantare præsumatis.[13]

Deinde[14] *archidiaconus injungat eis novem missas;*

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[11] "*Et moneantur attente audire.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Exon.*

[12] It does not appear that this admonition can be traced earlier than to the thirteenth century. Still there are many evidences which show that the practice of diligently learning the duties of their office, before actually entering upon them, was common long before. Nor could the necessity of it be light when we remember the intricacy of the rubrics which the newly ordained priests were bound accurately to observe.

[13] "*Hic injungatur eis aliqua quotidiana pœnitentia, ps.* Ad te levavi: *vel aliquis alius psalmus. Hic incipiatur postcommunio. Restat ut dicatur collecta missæ ad complendum.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Bangor.*

"*Quo dicto, dicatur postcommunio.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Exon.*

[14] None of the early pontificals or the ancient sacramentaries have any notice to this effect; it is therefore of late introduction. The utmost, which appears in any of them to lead to it, is a simple and religious request by the bishop that the newly ordained should pray for him. But these directions to say certain prayers, psalms, or masses, which (as the reader has seen) have been divided in the office in our text into several admonitions by the archdeacon to each degree in the ministry, have been collected by the Roman pontifical into one set form, to be solemnly pronounced by the bishop, after the postcommunion and the blessing. I think it right to extract it, bearing as it does on much that has gone before:—

"Singuli ad primam tonsuram, vel ad quatuor minores ordines promoti, dicite semel psalmos pœnitentiales, cum litaniis, versiculis, et orationibus. Ad sub-

videlicet, tres missas de Trinitate, tres de sancta Maria, pro statu universalis ecclesiæ, et tranquillitate regis et regni, et prosperitate domni, et tres missas de Requiem, *pro animabus patris et matris et pro salute omnium fidelium defunctorum, vel injungatur eis aliqua alia quotidiana pœnitentia, videlicet psalmus* Ad te levavi *vel aliquis alius psalmus. Et domnus episcopus concedat indulgentiam quadraginta dierum omnibus audientibus eorum primas missas.*

His expletis, dicat episcopus postcommunionem:

Quæsumus Domine, Deus noster, ut sacrosancta mysteria, quæ pro reparationis nostræ munimine contulisti, et præsens nobis remedium esse facias et futurum.

Alia postcommunio.

Quos tuis, Domine, reficis sacramentis, continuis attolle benignus auxiliis, ut tuæ redemptionis effectum et mysteriis capiamus et moribus. Per Dominum.[15]

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diaconatum, vel diaconatum, nocturnum talis diei. Ad presbyteratum vero ordinati post primam vestram missam, tres alias missas, videlicet, unam de Spiritu sancto, aliam de beata Maria semper virgine, tertiam pro fidelibus defunctis dicite, et omnipotentem Deum etiam pro me orate." *Pontif. Rom.*

[15] "Et sic finiatur missa: injungantur cuilibet tres missæ pro statu ecclesiæ, de Trinitate, de sancto Spiritu, et de beata virgine Maria. Et quilibet ordinatus lavet manus suas cum sale et aqua, antequam exeat ecclesia: postea celebretur indulgentia xl. dierum, omnibus primam missam eorum audientibus.

"Quando episcopus vult offerre minores ordines in dominicis vel in festis, responsoria, lectiones [?], dicta oratione principali, conveniant ante episcopum ordinandi, vocati et nomine sui singillatim, et unus archidiaconus, vel sacerdos, seu clericus, sonora voce, *Postulat.* Et cætera sicut in generalibus est dictum: tunc episcopus tradet illis claves ecclesiæ, et omnia alia quæ in generalibus ordinibus habentur, dimittendo lectiones, et gradualia,

Deinde dicat diaconus:

Benedicamus Domino.[16]

Postea dicat episcopus: Placeat tibi sancta Trinitas: *et cætera, more solito. Missa completa, recedant sacerdotes ad lavandum manus.*[17]

Iste modus prædictus servetur in omnibus aliis ordinibus subsequentibus.[18]

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quæ tunc temporis non habentur." *Pontif. Exon.*

[16] This of course would not be said at times when the "Ite, missa est" was, according to the use of Salisbury, the appointed form. The student should refer to the *Ancient liturgy.* I would again remind him that all those parts of the text which refer to the communion service of the day, the collects, gradual, epistle, secrets, &c., would also change according to the proper requirements of the season at which the ordinations took place.

[17] The washing of the hands of the newly ordained priests is directed to be done according to the present Roman pontifical in the middle of the office: "*Interea dum offertorium cantatur, vel etiam prius, ordinati sacerdotes poterunt lavare manus suas cum medulla panis, et aqua bene mundare, atque extergere mappulis illis, quibus ligatæ erant, et aqua ablutionis hujusmodi projiciatur in sacrarium.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Rom.* No direction to this effect is to be found in the early pontificals, and it was introduced as a consequence of the extreme reverence paid in the middle ages to the consecrated oil, whether chrism or not, used in the unction. To the same purpose are the careful directions so frequently repeated as to the unction at confirmation; see the order in vol. i; and above, at coronations, p. 25.

[18] That is, at the other ember days, or seasons of general ordinations. The Salisbury pontifical from which the text is taken contains (which is not the case with all pontificals) the variations of lections, epistles, gospels, collects, &c., according to the different times of the year; each of them, as it occurs in its place in the manuscript, referring back to this office of the ember-day in advent for those portions which related to the ordination itself and were unchangeable.

Appendix.

Admonitio informatoria episcopi ad primam tonsuram recipientes, et ad omnes alios ordines.

Informatio de prima tonsura clericali, et sumitur de verbis magistri Hugonis de sancto Victore, libro de sacramentis.[1]

PRIMUM signaculum clerici est corona, quia per hoc signum eligitur in partem sortis ministerii divini, cui servire regnare est, sicut dicit Petrus, "vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium." Propter hoc et coma ei in modum

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[1] These admonitions are placed at the beginning of the Sarum pontifical, from which the offices in this volume are edited. I have thought them well worthy of a place here, as an appendix to the ordination service: in fact, they form an excellent commentary upon many parts of the different ordination services. The student will be repaid by comparing them also with the admonitions, different but similar in character, printed by Martene, *de ant. ecc. rit.* tom. 2. p. 17. He speaks of them as of uncommon occurrence and deserving consideration. The copy in which he found them was a manuscript pontifical of the church of Rouen: imperfect, not containing the admonition to the "ostiarii," as he himself remarks; nor the "informatio de prima tonsura," of the existence of which, as a preliminary admonition of the same kind, he was probably not aware.

This "informatio" is stated in the text to have been derived from Hugh St. Victor on the sacraments. But it differs much from the chapter on the subject, lib. 1. cap. 32, as given in the *Auctarium* to the *Bibl. patrum*, tom. 1.

coronæ rotundæ tonditur, et caput desuper nudatur, ut per hoc et se ad regiam in Christo dignitatem assumi intelligat, et quia inter ipsum et Deum velamen desuper nullum esse debeat, sed revelata facie, secundum apostolum, Domini sui gloriam contempletur. Clericus enim non sicut laici secretorum Dei ignarus esse debet, quia nuntius ejus est ad laicum populum. Unde et usque ad apertionem oculorum et aurium amoventur crines quasi superflui, ut eum ab audiendo et intelligendo verbo Dei occupatio sæcularis et terrena ambitio non impediat. Extunc vero debet ecclesiæ stipendiis sustentari, et scriptura sacra instrui, et in officio ecclesiastico institui : ut cum ratio poposcerit, et ætas, ac scientia, et mores suppetunt, ad ordines sacros assumi possit sub titulo certo, sine quo non sunt ordinandi, ne potius acephali quam clerici efficiantur. Hujus tonsuræ ritus ex veteri testamento a Nazareis, ut dicitur, sumpsit exordium, quoniam crines diu crescentes, ob vitæ continentiam tandem rasos in ignem sacrificii, consumebant. Sed et in actibus apostolorum, Priscillam et Aquilam atque beatum Paulum, et quosdam alios, idem fecisse legimus, significando in corde et opere pullulantia vitia præcidenda.

Admonitio[2] *ad ostiarios, qui primi sunt ordinis.*

OSTIARII in veteri testamento janitores dicebantur. Quorum officium est claves ecclesiæ custodire, et competentibus horis claudere et

[2] A brief explanation of the duties of each order is given in the old *Ordo Romanus*—a manuscript probably of the ninth century—printed by Hittorpius:—

"*De officiis septem graduum.*

"Ostiarium oportet percutere cymbalum, et aperire ecclesiam,

aperire, et quæ intus sunt custodire, fideles Christianos recipere, excommunicatos vero et infideles excludere, sicut patet partim ex verbis episcopi ordinantis. Hoc officium Christus per se ipsum exercuit et constituit quando ementes et vendentes in templo, per quos omnes hæretici et infideles figurantur, cum flagello de funiculis ejecit de templo.

Admonitio ad lectores, qui secundi sunt in ordine.

LECTORES a prophetis sumpserunt exordium, qui verbum Dei populo annunciabant sicut Esdras et alii. Ideoque potestatem ab episcopo recipiunt prophetias et alias lectiones sacri canonis in auribus populi recitare. Unde debent esse sacris literis instructi, ut intelligant quæ legunt, et bene accentuent, et distincte pronuncient, ne intellectum

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et sacrarium, et librum aperire ei qui prædicat.

"*De lectoribus.*

"Lectorem oportet legere ei qui prædicat, et lectiones cantare, et benedicere panem, et omnes fructus novos.

"*De exorcistis.*

"Exorcistam oportet ejicere dæmones, et dicere populo qui non communicat, ut det locum, et aquam ministerio effundere.

"*De subdiaconibus.*

"Subdiaconum oportet præparare aquam ad ministrationem altaris, et ministrare diacono.

"*De diaconibus.*

"Diaconum oportet ministrare ad altare; et baptizare.

"*De presbyteris.*

"Sacerdotem oportet offerre et benedicere, præesse et prædicare, et baptizare.

"*De episcopis.*

"Episcopum oportet judicare, interpretari, et consecrare, consummare, ordinare, offerre, et baptizare." *De divinis officiis*, p. 63.

The duties said to be incumbent on the "lector" are worth observation. Isidore of Spain, who lived in the seventh century, does not include the power of benediction as belonging to lectors; lib. 3. cap. xj. The authenticity however of the treatise attributed to him is very doubtful: the writer lived more probably in the ninth century. Alcuin, *De divinis officiis*, is equally silent.

audientibus tollant, pariter et devotionem. Considerare bene habent quid indicative et quid interrogative legant, et ubi media, et ubi finalis sit clausula terminanda. Quia hæc male observata intellectum audientium aut perturbant, aut ridiculum provocant. Vox enim lectoris non tantum auribus sed cordi potius imprimi debet: quia factores verbi, secundum Jacobum, esse debemus non auditores tantum. Nec oculorum aut aliorum membrorum motu dissoluto spectatores potius quam auditores sibi faciant: vocem tam fractam vel fœmineam æque ut agrestem vel rusticam devitando. Lectores olim præcones vel proclamatores vocabantur. Hoc officium exercuit et instituit Dominus quando duodenus in medio doctorum et seniorum sedens, librum Isaiæ aperuit, et ibi legit, Spiritus Domini super me, eo quod unxit me, ad evangelizandum pauperibus misit me. Ex quo innuitur quod lectores gratia spirituali clarere debent, qui populo annunciant verbum Dei.

Admonitio ad exorcistas, qui tertii sunt ordinis.

EXORCISTÆ spiritum bonum et mundum intra se habere debent, quia imperium spirituale accipiunt super malos spiritus et immundos, ut eos de corporibus obsessis ejiciant. Habent etiam facere in catechumenis officium apertionis. Hi in ordine et officio ecclesiæ constituti sunt secundum hoc, quod in templo Salamonis dispositi erant primo, sed postea ab Esdra distinctius ordinati. Hoc officium exercuit et instituit Dominus quando cum saliva sua tetigit aures et linguam surdi et muti, dicens, ephphatha, quod est, adaperire; docens nos per hoc spiritualiter aperire aures et ora

cordium, ad recte intelligendum et confitendum Christum. Hoc etiam officium exercuit sæpius, sed specialiter expellendo septem dæmonia de Magdalena.

Admonitio ad acolytos, qui in quarto ordine succedunt.

ACOLYTI Græce, ceroferarii dicuntur Latine. Qui dum evangelium legitur, vel sacrificium offertur, vel cæterum ministerium sacrum perficitur, cereos accensos deferunt, non ut hujus aeris tenebras illuminent, sed ut spiritualiter lucis opera proximis ostendant et errantibus more lucis ducatum præstent. Accipiunt et urceolum vacuum de manu episcopi, quia nondum digni sunt tenere plenum; in signum quod vasa templi tangere quidem possunt, sed nondum perfecti sunt ad sacri ordinis officium ministrandum. Hoc officium se habere testatur Dominus dicens, "Ego sum lux mundi. Qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris, sed habebit lumen vitæ."

Admonitio ad subdiaconos, qui quintum locum obtinent.

QUINTO loco ordo est subdiaconorum, qui apud Græcos hypodiaconi vocantur. Isti sunt qui in Esdra Nathinæi, id est, in humilitate Deo servientes, appellantur. Ex quorum ordine fuit ille Nathanael qui in evangelio Dominum confiteri et ab ipso meruit collaudari, dicente Domino, "Ecce vir Israelita, in quo dolus non est." Isti subserviunt levitis, et vasa corporis et sanguinis Christi ipsis ad

altaria offerunt et iterum referunt. De quibus quidem patribus placuit, ut qui sacra mysteria contractant legem observent continentiæ, sicut scriptum est, "mundamini qui fertis vasa Domini." Hi in templo Domini oblationes suscipiunt a populis. Ad istorum etiam provisionem pertinet, tantum de oblationibus ponere in altari quantum sufficere possit populo Dei. Similiter ipsi corporales, pallas, et substratoria[3] lavare, et aquam in baptismum vergere debent. Urceum quoque et aquamanilem et manutergium tenere episcopo, et presbytero, et levitis, pro lavandis ante altare manibus, aquam præbere. Hi cum ordinantur sicut sacerdotes et levitæ manus impositionem non accipiunt, sed tantum calicem vacuum, et patenam vacuam, de manu episcopi; de manu vero archidiaconi, urceolum cum aquamanile et manutergium, quibus mundare debent manus sacerdos et levita, tractaturi divina sacramenta. Hoc officio usus est Dominus quando facta cœna cum discipulis linteo se præcinxit, et mittens aquam in pelvim, pedes discipulorum lavit, et linteo extersit.

Admonitio ad diaconos, qui sextum locum obtinent.

DIACONORUM ordo sexto sequitur loco, non sine aliquo senarii mysterio. In quo, propter perfectionem sui, significatur operum perfectio. Hic ordo in veteri testamento a tribu Levi habet exordium. Præcepit enim Dominus Moysi; ut post

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[3] "Substratorium, mappa altaris, cui corporale insternitur." Ducange.

ordinationem Aaron et filiorum ejus, rursus tribus Levi ad divini cultus ministeria ordinaretur et consecraretur Domino, et servirent pro Israel, coram Aaron et filiis ejus, in tabernaculo Dei. Ipsique gestarent arcam et tabernaculum et omnia vasa ejus, et in circuitu tabernaculi castra constituerent, et in transportando tabernaculo ipsi deponerent. A viginti autem annis et supra jussi sunt servire in tabernaculo. Quam regulam sancti patres et in novo testamento constituerunt, quoniam hæc ætas ad portanda onera robusta est, quod illi ordini a Moyse institutum est. Quod et in novo testamento representatur, cum diaconibus supra sinistrum humerum stola imponitur, et casula in diebus jejunii supra eundem humerum complicatur, quia quicquid laboris et sustinentiæ in hac vita toleramus, tanquam in sinistra portamus, donec in dextra, hoc est, in æternitate, requiem habeamus. Hic ordo in novo testamento ab apostolis sumpsit initium, quando, sicut legitur in actibus apostolorum, septem viros boni testimonii, plenos Spiritu sancto, ad hoc elegerunt officium. Et oratione præmissa, manus eis imposuerunt. Et exinde apostoli et eorum successores decreverunt ut in omni matrice ecclesia septem diacones circa aram Christi sublimiori gradu, tanquam columnæ altaris, assisterent, non sine aliquo septenarii mysterio. In quo figuratur ut septiformis gratiæ spiritu fulgentes, sancti sunt corpore ac spiritu. Hi sunt septem angeli in apocalypsi tuba canentes. Hi sunt septem candelabra aurea. Hi voces tonitruorum. Ipsi enim clara voce, in modum præconis, admonent cunctos sive ad orandum, sive ad genua flectenda, sive ad psallendum, sive ad legendum et audiendum verbum Dei. Ipsi evangelizant, ipsi

sacramenta Dei dispensant. Sine ipsis sacerdos nomen habet, officium non habet. Nam sicut in sacerdote consecratio ita in ministro ejus, id est diacono, dispensatio sacramenti est. Ipsis etiam sacerdotibus, propter præsumptionem, non licet calicem Domini in mensa tollere nisi eis traditus fuerit a diacono. Levitæ hostias super altare ponunt; levitæ operiunt arcam testamenti quia non omnes videre debent aut possunt alta mysteriorum quæ operiuntur a levitis. Ipsi albis induti vestibus assistunt altari ut candore vestis munditia vitæ significetur, nitidique ad hostias et immaculati accedant. Tales enim Dominum decet habere ministros, qui nullo carnis corrumpantur contagio sed perfecta mentis et corporis castitate splendeant. Quales enim diacones ordinandi sint apostolus plenissime docet scribens ad Timotheum. Nam cum præmisisset de sacerdotum electione continuo subjunxit, diacones similiter irreprehensibiles, hoc est, sine crimine sicut episcopos; pudicos, hoc est, a libidine continentes; non bilingues, scilicet ne perturbent pacem habentes; non multo vino deditos, quia ubi ebrietas ibi libido et furor dominatur; non turpe lucrum sectantes, id est, non de cœlesti militia lucra terrena sectantes. Post hæc subjecit, hi autem probentur primum, et sic ministrent nullum crimen habentes. Et hi itaque sicut episcopi ante ordinationem probari debent, et si digni inventi fuerint sic demum ad sacrum ministerium admitti. His cum ordinantur solus episcopus manus imponit, quia ad ministerium, non ad sacerdotium, applicantur. Ponitur eis orarium, id est stola, super sinistrum humerum ab episcopo, ut per hoc agnoscant se accepisse jugum Domini, quo omnia ad sinistram, id est præsentem vitam, per-

tinentia adversa fortiter tolerent et divino amore subjiciant. Accipiunt et textum evangeliorum de manu episcopi, per quem intelligant se esse præcones. evangelii Christi. Nam sicut lectoribus vetus testamentum ita diaconibus novum prædicare præceptum est, præcipue evangelium, quod solis ipsis in ecclesia pronunciare licet. Ad ipsos pertinet assistere sacerdotibus et ministrare in omnibus quæ aguntur in sacramentis Christi; in baptismo scilicet, et in chrismate, in patena et calice, oblationes etiam inferre et disponere in altari, componere etiam mensam Domini atque vestire, crucem ferre, evangelium prædicare et apostolum. Ad ipsos quoque pertinet officium precum, et recitatio nominum. Ipsi præmovent aures ad Dominum; ipsi hortantur orare; ipsi clamant, et pacem ipsi annunciant. Hoc officio usus est Dominus quando post cœnam proprio ore et propriis manibus sacramenta confecta dispensavit, et quando apostolos dormitantes excitavit ad orationem, dicens, vigilate et orate ut non intretis in tentationem.

Admonitio ad sacerdotes, qui septimum locum obtinent.

SEPTIMO loco subsequitur ordo presbyterorum, qui in veteri testamento a filiis Aaron sumpsit initium. Nam qui tunc sacerdotes vocabantur hi sunt qui nunc presbyteri, et qui tunc dicebantur principes sacerdotum nunc episcopi nominantur. Presbyteri autem interpretantur seniores, quia seniores Græci presbyteros vocant. Debent enim presbyteri seniores esse populo Dei, non tantum

ætate temporis quantum prudentia morum, et maturitate bonæ conversationis, sicut scriptum est, senectus venerabilis est non diuturna neque annorum numero computata. Cani enim sunt sensus hominis, et ætas senectutis vita immaculata. Distat tamen hoc tantum inter pontifices et hujus temporis sacerdotes, quod solum pontificibus addita est clericorum ordinatio, basilicarum dedicatio, sacri chrismatis consecratio, manus impositio, et communis super populum benedictio. In aliis autem sacramentis, sive catechizandi, sive baptizandi, sive missam celebrandi, et consecrandi corporis et sanguinis Christi, sive in ecclesia verbum faciendi, communis est utrisque dispensatio. Summis ergo sacerdotibus supradicta idcirco singulariter reservata sunt; ne eadem prorsus auctoritas potestatis, ab omnibus passim vendicata, inferiores erga suprapositos insolentes redderet, et soluto obedientiæ vinculo, scandalum generaret. Presbyteri successores et vicarii sunt septuaginta discipulorum, qui præcedebant Dominum Jesum in omnem civitatem, et locum quo ipse erat venturus. Ita quippe presbyteri, qui adjutores sunt episcoporum, rudes populos catechizando initiant, baptizando unitati ecclesiæ incorporant, ut in omnibus sacramentis usque ad manus impositionem populo Dei ministrant. Episcopi vero successores sunt apostolorum, qui ex necessitate adjutorium et supplementum sui officii, in tanta multitudine populorum regendorum, ministerium sibi expetunt sacerdotum, sicut Moyses in eremo septuaginta viros elegit prudentes quorum consilio et auxilio multitudinem tantam facilius gubernaret. Sive ergo inferioris sive superioris sint ordinis sacerdotes, id est, sive presbyteri sive episcopi, vicem gerunt summi pontificis

dum populos delinquentes ad pœnitentiam vocant, et orationum suarum medicamento sanant, unde dicit apostolus, Deus erat in Christo mundum reconcilians sibi, et posuit in nobis verbum reconciliationis. Obsecramus ergo pro Christo, reconciliemini Deo. In hoc igitur vice mediatoris funguntur sacerdotes, quod Deum pro peccatis populi exorant, et pœnitentes absolvendo Deo reconciliant. Quapropter convenit ut tanquam boni mediatores inter homines et Deum, et præcepta Dei ad populum deferant, veritatem prædicando, et preces populi Deo offerant, pro peccatoribus intercedendo. Mediator autem, ut ait apostolus, unius non est, quia discordes reconciliare non potest, qui utrumque societatis pace et amicitiæ vinculo consors non est. Et idcirco sacerdotes cum Deo pacem habere per eminentiam sanctitatis, et cum proximis concordiam servare debent per affectum compassionis. Quales ergo debeant esse presbyteri, apostolus scribens ad Titum insinuat, dicens, hujus rei gratia reliqui te Cretæ ut constituas per civitates presbyteros, quemadmodum tibi disposui. Siquis sine crimine est, unius uxoris virum, habentem filios fideles, non in accusatione luxuriæ, aut non subditus. Oportet enim episcopum sine crimine esse. Qua sententia ostendit etiam presbyteros sub episcoporum nomine taxari. Unde ad Timotheum de ordinatione episcopi et diaconi scribit, de presbyteris tacens, quos sub nomine episcoporum intelligendos relinquit. Quapropter tales etiam in ecclesia presbyteros constituendos esse sicut episcopos, et apostolus asserit, et canones apostolicam auctoritatem secuti testantur. Presbyteri cum ordinantur, episcopo eos benedicente, et manus super capita eorum tenente, omnes presbyteri qui præsentes sunt,

manus juxta manus episcopi, super capita eorum levant, et Spiritum sanctum super eos qui ordinantur invocant. Unguntur presbyteris manus sicut episcopis, ut cognoscant se hoc sacramento gratiam consecrandi accipere, et opera misericordiæ pro viribus exercere debere erga omnes. Unctio capitis specialiter ad episcopum pertinet, ut intelligat se vicarium esse illius de quo scriptum est, unxit te Deus, Deus tuus oleo lætitiæ. Hi, post invocationem Spiritus sancti, stolam super utrumque humerum accipiunt, quæ in modum sustentaculorum dextrum latus munit et sinistrum, ut ex hoc intelligant, se per hoc armis justitiæ a dextris et a sinistris esse munitos, ut eos nec adversa frangant nec prospera extollant. Accipiunt et calicem cum vino, et patenam cum hostiis, de manu episcopi, quatenus his instrumentis potestatem se accepisse agnoscant placabiles Deo hostias offerendi. Ad ipsos namque pertinet, sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini in altare Dei conficere, orationes dicere, et benedicere dona Dei. Hoc officio usus est Dominus noster Jesus Christus quando post cœnam panem et vinum in corpus suum et sanguinem suum commutavit, et ut in memoriam suæ passionis idem facerent discipulos monens instituit. Hoc quoque excellenter officium implens exhibuit, quando ipse sacerdos et hostia se ipsum Deo Patri in ara crucis, propter peccata generis humani, obtulit, et per proprium sanguinem sancta æterna ingrediens cœlestia et terrena pacificavit. In quo apparet quanta sit excellentia sacerdotalis officii, per quod quotidie in altare passio Christi celebratur, et reus quisque a peccatis conversus Deo reconciliatur. Quibus omnibus de sacerdotali officio breviter pertractatis, admonendi

sunt Christi sacerdotes quatenus sicut excellunt ordinis dignitate sic excellant vitæ sanctitate, ut plebs eis commissa atque eorum disciplinis edocta gratanter eis obediat, et eorum imitatione de die in diem proficiat, et ad præmia perveniat sempiterna.

Decretum de electo Episcopo.

Consecratio electi in Episcopum.

Decretum de electo Episcopo.

DECRETUM quod clerus et populus firmare debet de electo episcopo.[1]

Venerando sancto Cantuariensis ecclesiæ metropolitano *N.* clerus et populus ecclesiæ *N.* de-

[1] Many examples of forms of this "decretum" are to be found in the historians and ritualists of the middle ages. At the end of the Salisbury pontifical (that is, the manuscript from which our text is taken) the following short office occurs; which I insert here, as it doubtless is to be referred to the occasion of an election by the clergy of a new bishop:—

"*Confirmatio electi.*

"*Cantato* Te Deum, *dicatur*, Pater noster.

"*Episcopus dicat:* Et ne nos.

"Salvum fac servum tuum.

"Dominus custodiat introitum ejus, et exitum ejus.

"Dominus custodiat eum ab omni malo.

"Mittat ei Dominus auxilium de sancto.

"Exsurge, Domine, adjuva nos.

"Dominus vobiscum. Et cum. Oremus.

"Concede, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut famulum tuum, quem ad regimen animarum eligimus, gratiæ tuæ dono prosequaris, ut, te largiente, cum ipsa tibi nostra electione placeamus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum."

Immediately preceding the "decretum" there is a short form, which I subjoin:—

"*Quæ episcopus, in consecratione sua, profitetur se observaturum.*

"Omnem prudentiam, quantum natura sua capax est, divinæ scripturæ sensibus accommodare. Ea, quæ ex divinis scripturis intelligit, plebi cui ordinatus est verbo docere et exemplo. Traditiones orthodoxorum patrum, et decretales ac constitutiones sedis apostolicæ, reverenter suscipere, docere, et servare. Beato Petro apostolo, ejusque vicariis summis pontificibus, vel eorum archiepiscopis, fidem et subjectionem per omnia exhibere. Castitatem et sobrietatem, cum Dei auxilio, custodire et docere. Mores ab omni malo temperare, et quantum possibile est, Domino auxiliante, ad omne

bitam subjectionem: vestræ paternitati est cognitum, quantum temporis est ex quo accidentibus variis eventibus ecclesia *N.* suo sit viduata pastore ac destituta rectore. Quod, non solum ad nostrum, verum et ad vestrum ac omnis hujus diœceseos detrimentum pertinere dignoscitur; cum totius provinciæ solicitudinem metropolitano constet esse commissam. Propterea elegimus illius nostræ ecclesiæ presbyterum *N.* nobis sufficientissime cognitum, natalibus et moribus nobilem, apostolica et ecclesiastica disciplina imbutum, fide catholicum, natura prudentem, docibilem, patientem, moribus temperatum, vita castum, sobrium, humilem, affabilem, misericordem, literatum, in lege Dei instructum, in scripturarum sensibus cautum, in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatum, et secundum scripturarum tramitem traditionemque orthodoxorum et canonum ac decretorum sedis apostolicæ præsulum constitutiones, sano sensu ecclesiasticas regulas intelligentem, sanoque sermone

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bonum commutare. Semper in divinis negotiis mancipari, et a terrenis negotiis et lucris turpibus alienari, quantum humana fragilitas consenserit posse: humilitatem et patientiam custodire in seipso, et alios idem docere. Pauperibus et peregrinis omnibusque indigentibus, propter nomen Domini, esse affabilis et misericors."

After citing the well-known canon of the council of Trent on the power claimed by the laity to join in the election of a bishop, a great authority continues: "Verum fateri cogimur diu in ecclesia laicos ac præsertim principes viros, seu vi, seu conniventibus pontificibus maximis, in electionibus episcoporum plurimum potuisse. Tradit van Espen sæculo Christi xij cœpisse electiones episcoporum transire ad capitula cathedralia, propter laicorum scilicet tumultuosas factiones, ex quibus extrema vis, ipsæ etiam cædes eruperunt, uti ostendit Jueninus," &c. Catalani, tom. 1. p. 290. In England the traditional exercise of their right by the laity seems to have been recognised in theory up to the sixteenth century.

docentem atque servantem, amplectentem eum qui secundum doctrinam est fidelem sermonem, et cum modestia corripientem eos qui resistunt, et qui sanæ doctrinæ adversantur, eis resistere et redarguere prævalentem, hospitalem, modestum, suæ domui bene præpositum, non neophytum, habentem testimonium bonum in gradibus singulis, secundum traditionem ecclesiasticam ministrantem ad omne opus bonum, et ad satisfactionem omni poscenti rationem de ea quæ in illo est spe paratum: quem nobis quantocius petimus ordinari pontificem, quatenus, auctore Domino, regulariter nobis præesse valeat et prodesse, et nos sub ejus regimine salubriter militare possimus, quia integritas præsidentium salus est subditorum; et ubi est incolumitas obedientiæ, ibi sana est forma doctrinæ. Ut autem omnium nostrum vota in hanc electionem convenire noscatis, huic decreto canonico, promptissima voluntate, singuli manibus propriis roborantes subscripsimus.

Consecratio electi in Episcopum.

PROVIDEAT electus cum suis, quod mane diei dominicæ, parata sint[1] *et in promptu omnia sibi necessaria in consecratione, videlicet, caligæ, sandalia,*[2] *amictus, alba, cingulum, stola, manipulus, tunicella, dalmatica, planeta, et pluviale albi coloris, chirothecæ,*[3] *annulus pontificalis,*[4]

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[1] Very full explanations of the episcopal vestments and ornaments may be found in many writers on the pontifical. More especially the student should consult the third volume of Du Saussay's *Panoplia episcopalis*.

[2] In the British museum is a benedictional which formerly belonged to the abbey of Evesham. It was probably written about 1520 for John Longland, bishop of Peterborough (see above, in the first vol.). A large illumination at the beginning shows the bishop vesting for mass: he is seated and has already put on a large surplice. A domestic servant (as directed in the rubric) is putting on his sandals: and the bishop reads the appointed prayer from a book held open before him by an attendant priest. Twenty leaves follow this with the order for putting on the other vestments, and for saying a pontifical mass. Then comes the benedictional itself. Additional MS. 21. 974.

[3] Gloves, as a part of the ceremonial vestments of a bishop, are often spoken of in old documents as given to cathedral churches, or in the inventories as preserved in treasuries. Such gloves were richly decorated with gold and jewels. There were many pairs at St. Paul's about the end of the thirteenth century; and as many probably at Canterbury (see note below). These ornamented gloves are easily to be observed on many of the tombs of bishops in our cathedrals.

[4] The pontifical ring was much larger than the finger, as it was worn over the glove; and the "alius annulus parvus" was of smaller size, also over the glove, to keep the pontifical ring from slipping over the finger: they were worn on the third finger of the right hand. Thus we find in the Exeter ponti-

et alius annulus parvus, mitra, baculus pastoralis, duo bacilia, tobalia pro manibus tergendis, tobalia ad ponendum coram consecratore, tobalia et pecten ad pectinandum,[5] *micæ panis ad tergendum manus et*

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fical, among the rubrics directing how a bishop should be vested, "tunc sedendo chirothecas manibus imponat et annulum pontificalem magnum, una cum uno parvo strictiori annulo ad tenendum fortius imponat."

[5] Ducange says: "*Pecten*, inter ministeria sacra recensetur, quo scilicet sacerdotes ac clerici antequam in ecclesiam procederent, crines pecterent." He cites several examples, proving that a comb was among the ordinary furniture of chapels. In the earlier pontificals there is no express mention of it, although it is clear that in Durand's time the use of it was general; *Rationale*, lib. 4. cap. 3: and Ducange quotes a will of a bishop in the tenth century who, among other effects, specifies "Pectinem eburneum unum."

So in the old inventories we find them mentioned: thus, in that of St. Paul's, A.D. 1295: "Tres pectines eburnei, spissi et magni, et tres tenues et usuales de ebore. Item, unum pecten eburneum pulchrum. Item, duo pectines eburnei sufficientes." Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, p. 206. See above also, p. 118. note 21, for "king Edward's ivory comb," an article of the regalia.

A rubric in the pontifical of archbishop Bainbridge of York shows that the ceremonial use of the comb continued in England until the reformation. The bishop when vesting to say mass is thus directed: "*Caligis et sandaliis impositis, pontifex, priusquam sibi amictum imponat, caput pectinet, manus et faciem lavet; et dum lavat dicat episcopus hanc orationem:* Largire sensibus," &c. p. 3.

The mediæval ceremonial combs of bishops are extremely rare whether in English or in foreign collections. Those which do exist are (I believe) all of ivory. One of the most curious known is in the British museum: and is described in my dissertation on ancient and mediæval ivories, p. lxij. That they were common in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries is abundantly proved by the contemporary inventories. The combing of a bishop's hair was then as much a part of the ceremonial of his vesting as the putting on of his chasuble or mitre: and was done by the assistant deacon or sub-deacon; sometimes by both. See Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* tom. 2. p. 291.

caput, duo brachia telæ de cortina[6] *ad circumligandum caput in unctione, duo magni panes involuti duobus tobaliis, duæ magnæ phialæ plenæ vino, et duo magna torticia ad offerendum, libri missalis et pontificalis, faldistorium et tapetum, quissini et bassini. Sacerdotes in superpelliciis, qui serviant electo de libro.*

Incipit[7] *consecratio electi in episcopum, quæ est agenda die dominica, et non in alia festivitate,*[8] *antequam missa celebretur.*[9]

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[6] "Brachium, mensuræ species, cubitus." "Cortina, panni vel serici species, sic dicta, ut pallium, pro pallii materia." Ducange, *Glossarium.*

[7] After the "decretum," the Winchester and Bangor MSS. pass on to the order of consecration, omitting the rubric in the text, as to the necessaries to be provided. The first rubric of those books is as follows :—

"*Incipit examinatio ordinandi episcopi, quæ est agenda die dominica, antequam missa celebretur.*" *Pontif. Winton.*

"*Incipit examinatio ordinandi episcopi, quæ est agenda die dominica, antequam celebretur.* [*sic.*] *Ipse electus sacerdotalibus vestibus induatur præter casulam, et pro casula induatur capa. Et sic comprovinciales episcopi deducant eum per manus coram metropolitano examinandum : ipso metropolitano sedente in loco examinationis, dorso verso ad majus altare. Sedilia vero episcoporum coram metropolitano in modum coronæ, a dextris et a sinistris electi. Tunc dicat metropolitanus :*

"Antiqua sanctorum," &c. *Pontif. Bangor.*

As before stated, the Exeter MS. does not contain the "decretum" nor has it the rubric regarding the necessary preparations: its first rubric, after the commencement, is similar to that of the Bangor use : but it begins thus :—

"*Consecratio episcoporum semper agenda est die dominica, et examinatio et professio eorum ante missarum solemnia. Electus vero sacerdotalibus,*" &c., ut supra.

[8] This limitation in the old English rubric was in strict accordance with the custom of preceding ages. Thomassin says : "Concilium Tolet. iv. c. 18, præcipit ut metropolitanus in civitate metropolitana ordinetur :—dies autem dominica tantum ab eodem concilio præscribitur. . . . . Abdicationis pœnam videtur Leo M. intentare ep. 89. c. 3 si quo alio tempore ordinentur episcopi,

antea diligentissime examinetur cum omni caritate de fide sanctæ Trinitatis, et interrogetur de diversis

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which we may conjecture by whom it was first added.

The principle of such an examination before consecration was however both primitive and universal: grounded upon the admonitions of St. Paul to Timothy. In after years it was made the especial subject of conciliar decrees: thus, the first canon of the fourth council of Carthage in the year 398 is directed to this point: "Qui episcopus ordinandus est, antea examinetur, si natura sit prudens, si docibilis, si moribus temperatus, si vita castus, si sobrius, si semper suis negotiis cavens, si humilis, si affabilis, misericors, si literatus, si in lege Domini instructus, si in scripturarum sensibus cautus, si in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatus: et ante omnia, si fidei documenta verbis simplicibus asserat: id est Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum," &c. And then follows an exact examination, grounded on the apostles' creed. Again, in the eighth century the second Nicene council in its second canon, which Martene appeals to, ordered, "..decernimus quemlibet, qui ad episcopalem gradum est provehendus,—a metropolitano bene examinari, an ad sacros canones diligenter, ac cum perscrutatione, prompto sit animo, et sacrum etiam evangelium, et librum divini apostoli, omnemque divinam scripturam, et in divinis præceptis versari, et populum suum docere." Mansi, tom. xiij. col. 748.

But, remembering the ill-reception which the decrees of this council met with in the west, I would rather attribute the insertion of this examination to canons of other synods in Gaul or Spain: thus, we have one (to name no more) of the eleventh council of Toledo, in the preceding century, A.D. 675: "Placuit huic sancto concilio, ut unusquisque qui ad ecclesiasticos gradus est accessurus, non ante honoris consecrationem accipiat, quam placiti sui innodatione promittat, ut fidem catholicam sincera cordis devotione custodiens, juste et pie vivere debeat." *Ibid.* tom. xi. col. 143.

It is very probable that the particular interrogations regarding the change of the bread and wine in the eucharist were in consequence of the heresy of Berengarius, and inserted into the English pontificals by the influence of archbishop Lanfranc, his great opponent. In which case the Winchester MS. is possibly as early as any manuscript in which they are to be found: being nearly contem-

duo comprovinciales episcopi deducant eum per manus coram metropolitano examinandum, ipso metropolitano sedente in loco examinationis, dorso verso ad majus altare, sedilia vero episcoporum coram metropolitano, in modum coronæ, a dextris et a sinistris electi. Et dum ista examinatio dicitur vel legitur, archiepiscopus et cæteri episcopi consecrantes mitras debent habere in capite, sed consecrandus nequaquam. Tunc dicat metropolitanus:

Antiqua sanctorum patrum institutio docet et præcipit,[10] ut is qui ad ordinem episcopatus eligitur,

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terorum episcoporum ponantur ante oculos metropolitani. Sedes autem ipsius electi ponatur in medio, non tamen ad majus altare. Comprovinciales autem episcopi offerant electum domno metropolitano his verbis:—

"'Reverende pater, postulat,'" *Vetera analecta*, p. 228.

The "poderis" in the above extract was a vestment of much the same kind as the "camisia" (see above, p. 19. note 29). Ducange in his glossary cites Eucherius Lugdunensis: "Poderis, sacerdotalis linea corpori penitus adstricta, eademque talaris, unde et poderis appellata, hæc et subucula dicitur." Compare also Ivo Carnotensis, *de reb. eccles.* serm. 3, and Innocent III. *de myst. missæ*, cap. 10. 16.

The "poderis" can only in a very wide and improper sense be explained to be a sacerdotal vestment, as it was common to the inferior orders; and, in fact, there seems to be but little doubt that it was what was afterwards called the albe; and that its more ancient name lingered only in remote countries. Thus Alcuin (*de div. off.*) expressly says: "Poderis vulgo alba dicta, perseverantiam significat." And so Durand: "Quia vero usque ad talos descendit, perseverantiam designat." *Rationale div. off.* lib. 3. cap. 3.

[10] The whole of this part of the office is now inserted into the Roman pontifical. Martene has observed that it was anciently peculiar to the churches of France; to which we may add, of England also. It was probably introduced into this country about the eleventh century, as we do not find it in the earlier pontificals of Egbert and Dunstan: nor before that time, I may remark, is it found in the office of any French church; so that there is no evidence from

tutiones, veneranter suscipere, docere, atque servare?[15]

Resp. Volo.

Interrogatio. Vis[16] sanctæ Cantuariensi ecclesiæ[17] et mihi, meisque successoribus subjectionem et obedientiam per omnia exhibere, secundum canonicam auctoritatem, et decreta sanctorum pontificum?

Resp. Volo.

Tunc dicat pontifex:

Profitere.[18]

Hic legat professionem, ut patet per bullam si habeatur, ac super eandem bullam subscribat crucem

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[15] This and the next interrogation are differently arranged in the Winchester MS.; both being placed before the last question, "Vis pauperibus."

[16] The Exeter pontifical has an addition in this place: "Vis beato Petro apostolo cui a Deo data est potestas ligandi atque solvendi, ejusque vicariis Romanis pontificibus, atque sanctæ ecclesiæ Cantuariensi," &c.

[17] "sanctæ Dorobernensi ecclesiæ." *Pontif. Winton.* i. e. Cantuariensi. I extract the whole interrogation from that early manuscript:—

"Vis sanctæ Dorobernensi ecclesiæ fidem et subjectionem per omnia exhibere?"

The Bangor use agrees with the text: in the Exeter pontifical the question runs:—

". . . Cantuariensi, mihique ministro et successoribus meis, fidem, subjectionem, et obedientiam, secundum canonicam auctoritatem exhibere?"

[18] "*Hic exigatur professio.*" *Winton.*

"*Resp.* Volo. Profitere." *Bangor.*

"Volo. Profitere. *Hic profiteatur.*" *Exon.*

All three pontificals omit the form in which the profession is to be made, passing on immediately to the next interrogation: "Vis mores," &c.

The reader should consult Wilkins, *Concilia*, for the forms of some later professions about the middle of the sixteenth century: for example; in 1540, tom. 3. p. 855; in 1544, p. 870; in 1550, tom. 4. p. 67. And again, for some of an earlier time, a collection which has been printed by Hearne at the end of the *Textus Roffensis*, p. 245, &c., and others in the *Anglia sacra*, tom. 1. p. 78.

manu propria; sin autem, exigetur professio modo subscripto:

In Dei nomine. Amen. Ego .*N*. talis ecclesiæ electus, et a te, reverende pater, nomine .*N*. Cantuariensis archiepiscope, totius Angliæ primas, consecrandus antistes, tibi et sanctæ Cantuariensi ecclesiæ metropoliticæ, tuisque successoribus in dicta ecclesia Cantuariensi canonice substituendis, debitam et canonicam obedientiam, reverentiam, et subjectionem, me per omnia exhibiturum profiteor et promitto, secundum decreta Romanorum pontificum tuorumque jurium,[19] et prædictæ sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ adjutor ero ad defendendum, retinendum, et conservandum, salvo ordine meo: sic me Deus adjuvet, et sancta Dei evangelia. Et prædicta omnia subscribendo propria manu confirmo.

Deinde propria manu subscribat, faciendo crucem.

Interrogatio. Vis mores tuos ab omni malo temperare, et quantum poteris, Domino adjuvante, ad omne bonum commutare?

Resp. Volo.

Interrogatio. Vis castitatem et sobrietatem, cum Dei auxilio, custodire, et docere?

Resp. Volo.

Interrogatio. Vis semper esse divinis negotiis mancipatus, et a terrenis negotiis vel lucris turpibus esse alienus, quantum te humana fragilitas concesserit posse?

Resp. Volo.

Interrogatio. Vis humilitatem, et patientiam, in temetipso custodire, et alios similiter docere?

[19] This sentence "secundum . . . jurium" has been erased with a pen, and the following inserted in the margin, probably about the year 1540: "secundum jura et statuta hujus regni."

Resp. Volo.

Interrogatio. Pauperibus et peregrinis, omnibusque indigentibus vis esse, propter nomen Domini, affabilis et misericors?

Resp. Volo.

Tunc dicat ei pontifex:

Hæc omnia et cætera bona tribuat tibi Dominus, et custodiat te, atque corroboret, in omni bonitate.[20]

Respondeant omnes astantes: Amen.

Interrogatio. Credis, secundum intelligentiam et capacitatem sensus tui, sanctam Trinitatem, Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum, unum Deum omnipotentem, totamque in Trinitate Deitatem, coessentialem et consubstantialem, coæternam et coomnipotentem, unius voluntatis, potestatis, et majestatis, creatorem omnium creaturarum, a quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia, quæ sunt in cœlo et in terra, visibilia et invisibilia, corporalia et spiritualia?

Resp. Assentio, et ita credo.

Interrogatio. Credis ipsum Filium Dei, Verbum Dei, æternaliter natum de Patre, consubstantialem, coomnipotentem, et coæqualem per omnia Patri in divinitate, temporaliter natum de Spiritu sancto et Maria semper virgine, cum anima rationali, duas habentem nativitates, unam ex Patre æternam, alteram ex matre temporalem, Deum verum et hominem verum, proprium in utraque natura atque perfectum, non adoptivum neque phantasticum, unicum et unum Filium Dei in duabus naturis, sed in unius personæ singularitate, impassibilem et immortalem in divinitate, sed in humanitate, pro nobis et pro salute

[20] "in omni bono." *Winton.*

nostra, passum vera carnis passione, et sepultum, ac die tertia resurgentem a mortuis, vera carnis resurrectione, die quadragesimo post resurrectionem, cum carne qua resurrexit et anima, ascendisse in cœlum, sedere ad dexteram Dei Patris, inde venturum judicare vivos et mortuos, et redditurum unicuique secundum opera sua, sive bona fuerint sive mala?

Resp. Assentio, et per omnia credo.

Interrogatio. Credis etiam Spiritum sanctum, plenum, atque perfectum, verumque Deum, a Patre Filioque procedentem, coæqualem et coessentialem, coomnipotentem et coæternum per omnia Patri et Filio?

Resp. Credo.

Interrogatio. Credis hanc sanctam Trinitatem non tres Deos sed unum Deum omnipotentem, æternum, invisibilem, et incommutabilem?

Resp. Credo.

Interrogatio. Credis sanctam, catholicam, et apostolicam, unam esse veram ecclesiam, in qua unum datur baptisma, et vera remissio omnium peccatorum?

Resp. Credo.

Interrogatio.[21] Credis panem qui in mensa dominica ponitur, panem tantummodo esse ante consecrationem: sed in ipsa consecratione, ineffabili potentia divinitatis, converti naturam et substantiam panis in naturam et substantiam carnis Christi,

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[21] This and the next interrogation are in the Winchester pontifical, but are omitted by the Bangor and Exeter MSS.: the last of which omits also the question "Anathematizas omnem hæresim." Bishop Martival's MS. of 1300 follows the Bangor use.

carnis vero nullius alterius, sed illius quæ concepta est de Spiritu sancto, et nata ex Maria virgine?

Resp. Credo.

Interrogatio. Similiter vinum quod aquæ mixtum in calice sanctificandum proponitur, vere et essentialiter converti in sanguinem, qui per lanceam militis de Domini lateris vulnere emanavit?

Resp. Credo.

Interrogatio. Anathematizas omnem hæresim, extollentem se adversus hanc sanctam ecclesiam catholicam?

Resp. Anathematizo.

Interrogatio. Credis etiam veram resurrectionem ejusdem carnis quam nunc gestas, et vitam æternam?

Resp. Credo.

Interrogatio. Credis etiam novi et veteris testamenti, legis, et prophetarum, et apostolorum, unum esse auctorem Deum ac Dominum omnipotentem?

Resp. Credo.

Et dicat ei:

Hæc tibi fides augeatur a Domino, ad veram et æternam beatitudinem, dilectissime frater in Christo.

Et respondeant omnes: Amen.[22]

Ita igitur examinatus et bene instructus,[23] *cum*

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[22] A marginal note is introduced here: viz.:—

"Hic petatur a consecrante bulla juramenti, et consecrandus eam legat, et secundum tenorem ejusdem præstet domino papæ suum juramentum." This note is in a hand and character of writing contemporary with the manuscript itself, and possibly the omission may have been accidental: but I have not thought right to insert it in the text.

[23] This rubric is to the same effect, and in nearly the same words, in both the Winchester and Bangor MSS. The first proceeds at the end of it:—

"*Qualiter ordinetur episcopus. Pontifex cum ordinatur, primo*

consensu clericorum et laicorum ac conventu totius provinciæ episcoporum, maximeque metropolitani auctoritate aut præsentia, in nomine Domini ordinetur.[24]

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progreditur domnus metropolitanus cum cuncto clero ad ecclesiam: ubi ipsam vult fieri ordinationem. Veniens autem ante altare mox ut voluerit indicat primo cantorum, et statim cantor levat antiphonam ad introitum: Benedixit te hodie Deus. *Ps.* Deus Deorum. *Cumque finierint introitum non dicant,* Kyrieleison: *sed domnus metropolitanus incipiat:* Gloria in excelsis Deo. *Hoc finito dicat:* Pax vobis. *Postea orationem hanc:* Adesto supplicationibus," &c.

The Bangor pontifical merely adds: "*Deinde cantor incipiat antiphonam ad introitum et cætera ex more: sequitur oratio. Post orationem missæ immediate:* Adesto," &c.

The Exeter pontifical proceeds, after the benediction "Hæc tibi fides," in this manner:—

"*Expleto namque scrutinio, electus osculetur reverenter manum consecratoris, juxta ritum Romanæ ecclesiæ: tunc consecrator juxta altare faciat confessionem more solito, electo juxta ipsum manente, et omnes episcopi ante sedes suas stantes faciant similiter cum clericis suis. Finita confessione, consecrator ascendat ad altare. Cantore inchoante introitum missæ, electus ducatur ad locum suum: acolyti induant illum sandalia, tunicam, dalmaticam, et casulam; postquam consecrator dixerit primam collectam officii missæ, dicat sub uno* per dominum, *collectam pro electo.* Adesto," &c.

[24] All that has preceded being as it were a preparation, the service itself of consecration begins here. Thus the first rubric of the very ancient pontifical of archbishop Egbert, omitting also the charge "oportet," &c., is as follows:—

"*Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum librum super cervicem ejus, et unus fundat super eum benedictionem: et postea istas tres orationes omnes episcopi, qui adsunt, recitare debent: reliqui vero manus suas super caput ejus teneant.* Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, huic viro," &c.

Nor was it necessary that this previous examination should precede immediately, that is, upon the same day, the rite of consecration; nor that both should be in the same place. For the primitive practice was that a bishop should be consecrated in his own cathedral: and without citing many authorities, to be found in most writers on this subject, I

Deinde cantor incipiat officium missæ de die.

Hac sequens oratio dicatur cum oratione de die, et dicantur sub uno per Dominum.

Oratio.

Adesto supplicationibus nostris omnipotens Deus, ut quod nostræ humilitatis gerendum est ministerio, tuæ virtutis impleatur effectu. Per Dominum. *Et cætera ex more cantentur usque ad repetitionem* Alleluia, *vel usque ad ultimum versum tractus vel sequentiæ. Interim autem,*[23] *dum hæc fiunt, innuat*

shall extract a passage from St. Cyprian: "Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina, et apostolica observatione, servandum est et tenendum quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsente." *Opera*, p. 119, epist. lxviij. And I add the following from Thomassin: "Jubet Aurelianense iv. conc. c. 5 ut electus episcopus propria in civitate et ecclesia ordinetur: si id quidem non liceat per temporis importunitatem, ut in provincia saltem, et ab episcopis ordinetur provinciæ, præsente vel authoritatem saltem suam accommodante metropolitano." *De benef.* part. ij. lib. 2. cap. xviij. (tom. 5. p. 93).

[23] The Winchester pontifical thus proceeds:—

"*Interim autem innuit domnus metropolitanus archidiacono: et ipse descendens vadit extra chorum, ubi expectat qui ordinandus est: et accipiens vestimentum induat eum. Et finito gradali, domnus metropolitanus ascendit ad altare. Et archidiaconus adducit electum ad altare, ubi domnus metropolitanus stat. Et inclinat se idem electus pontifex ad terram, et dicit domnus metropolitanus:*

"Clerus et plebs de civitate illa, cum adjacentibus parochiis suis, rogat sibi episcopum consecrari.

"Nunc autem a piissimo domino nostro Anglorum rege consentiente clero et populo electus est venerabilis frater noster .*N*. in hoc opus.

"Oremus itaque pro eo, ut Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus tribuat ei cathedram episcopalem ad regendam ecclesiam suam, et plebem universam.

"*Et tunc schola incipiat litaniam; et inter alia dicat:*

"Ut fratrem nostrum .*N*. electum pontificem, in vera religione

dominus metropolitanus archidiacono, et ipse descendens cum acolytis et subdiaconis vadat extra chorum, ubi expectat qui ordinandus est, et accipiens vestimenta induet eum cum sandaliis, alba, stola, manipulo, tunica, dalmatica, et casula, sine mitra, et absque baculo vel annulo. Et finito gradale, dominus archiepiscopus ascendat ad altare, et duo episcopi, capis induti, deducant electum superius ante altare ubi dominus archiepiscopus sedet, et ille sedendo cum mitra dicit:

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conservare digneris: Te rogamus, audi nos.

"*Episcopi vero interim prosternant se super stramenta coram altare, et ordinandus humilius post pontifices usque dum dicatur*, Agnus Dei. *Finita autem litania, elevet eum domnus metropolitanus incipiens hymnum* Veni Creator. *Quo cantato, ponat caput electi episcopi super altare. Et duo alii episcopi ponant et teneant evangelium super verticem ejus. Reliqui vero omnes qui adsunt episcopi manus super caput ejus ponant. Et domnus metropolitanus infundens benedictionem super eum dicat lenta voce:*

"Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, &c.

"Oremus, *et diaconus:* Flectamus genua. Levate.

"Propitiare, Domine, supplicationibus," &c.

In the Bangor pontifical we have:—

"*Interim dum hæc fiunt, egrediatur archidiaconus cum acolytis et subdiaconis: et induat ipsum electum dalmaticam planetam: et duo episcopi casulis induti deducant eum superius ante altare. Et convertens se archiepiscopus ad circumstantes, dicat exhortationem:*

"Oremus, dilectissimi nobis," &c.

In the Exeter MS. the office is as follows; after the collect "Adesto:"—

"*Et cætera omnia cantentur usque ad repetitionem alleluia, vel ad ultimum versum tractus: tunc sedente episcopo deducant electum ante altare coram consecratore, et dicat consecrator electo:*

"Episcopum oportet, &c.

"*Et statim incipiatur litania, et interim tam consecrator quam electus accumbant versus altare, ita quod electus maneat a sinistris consecratoris postquam dictum fuerit,* Ut obsequium servitutis nostræ. *Tunc surgat consecrator et ad consecrandum se vertens, baculum pastoralem in manu sinistra tenens, dicat primo:*

"Ut hunc præsentem electum," &c.

Episcopum oportet judicare, interpretari, consecrare, confirmare, ordinare, offerre, et baptizare.

Deinde, deposita mitra, convertet se archiepiscopus ad circumstantes, et dicat hanc exhortationem:

Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, ut huic viro ad utilitatem ecclesiæ provehendo, benignitas omnipotentis Dei gratiæ suæ tribuat largitatem. Per Dominum.

Et statim a duobus episcopis incipiatur:

Kyrie eleison.

Cum litania; et prosternat se ordinator simul cum electo et cæteris episcopis ante altare super faldistoria; episcopus electus desuper stramenta,[26] *ad basim altaris; et dicatur litania sicut in ordinibus, et cum ventum fuerit ad versum qui pro domino episcopo cantatur, surgat consecrator, et dicat conversus ad electum sic:*

Ut hunc electum bene✠dicere digneris.

Resp. Te rogamus.

Ut hunc electum bene✠dicere, et sancti✠ficare digneris.

Resp. Te rogamus.

Ut hunc electum bene✠dicere, sancti✠ficare, et conse✠crare digneris.

Resp. Te rogamus.

Finita litania surgant omnes præter electum. Et

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[26] A canon of a council of London, in the year 1126, refers to these: "Statuimus præterea et apostolica authoritate decernimus, ut in consecrationibus episcoporum, non cappa, non tapetæ, non manutergium, non baccinia, et nil omnino per violentiam, nisi sponte oblatum fuerit, penitus exigatur." Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 408. The reader may compare a canon passed at Westminster a few years after to the same purpose; *Ibid.* p. 415.

duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum codicem[27]

[27] We have just seen that the Winchester pontifical does not specify whether the book was to be held open or closed: and on account of an abuse which crept in about the eleventh century and to be spoken of presently, I shall transcribe the corresponding rubric (agreeing in both) of the Bangor and Exeter pontificals:—

"*Finita vero litania, surgant omnes præter electum: et duo episcopi ponant et teneant librum seu codicem evangeliorum super cervicem ejus et inter scapulas clausum.*"

Amalarius in his day argued that this was a newly invented observance, and not founded upon primitive authority: "quod neque vetus auctoritas intimát, neque apostolica traditio, neque canonica auctoritas." *De off. ecc.* lib. ij. cap. 14. But his statement must be somewhat corrected, for if this rite may not be traced up to the apostolic age, yet there is the practice of a very high antiquity to plead in its behalf. As the reader has already seen (note 24), it was a part of the office in the pontifical of Egbert; it is in the sacramentary of St. Gregory; and enjoined by the second canon of the often-quoted council of Carthage. "Episcopus cum ordinatur" are the words "duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum codicem super caput et cervicem ejus: et uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes episcopi, qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant."

Palladius in his life of St. Chrysostom mentions it; where speaking of a consecration by heretics he says, "non horruerunt evangelium scelesto capiti imponere." And Menard in his notes to the passage in the sacramentary cites St. Chrysostom himself, alluding to the practice. But I would add, earlier than all these above cited, the testimony of the author of the apostolical constitutions, where, speaking of the order of the consecration of a bishop, he says: *σιωπῆς γενομένης, εἷς τῶν πρώτων ἐπισκόπων ἅμα καὶ δυσὶν ἑτέροις, πλησίον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἑστὼς, τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων σιωπῇ προσευχομένων, τῶν δὲ διακόνων τὰ θεῖα εὐαγγέλια ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κεφαλῆς ἀνεπτυγμένα κατεχόντων, λεγέτω πρὸς Θεόν.* Lib. 8. cap. iv.*

It does not seem uncalled for

* It will be observed that here the book of the gospels is directed to be held by deacons: and the student should consult the observations of Habertus: though I scarcely suppose he will agree with that writer in the very summary condemnation which he adds; *Pontif. Græc.* p. 78.

super cervicem ejus et inter scapulas clausum,[28] *et ordinatore*[29] *super eum fundente benedictionem, reli-*

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to give some of the mystical reasons which have been proposed for the observance of this ancient rite. Peter Damian tells us: "Ponitur et evangelica pagina super caput illius recumbentis, ut verbo vitæ sentiat excedere rationem, et oculi ejus deficiant in eloquium Domini." *Sermo* 1 *de dedicatione*. Amalarius, although (as Catalani remarks) he had been objecting to the reasonableness of the observance, yet immediately adds: "Potest tamen evangelii positio super caput monere tenentes, ut quo Dominus idem evangelium firmet in corde ejus deprecentur, aut, ut moneant eum qui consecratur recordari se amplius esse sub jugo evangelii, quam foret." Lib. 2. cap. xiv. But all these must be referred to the judgment of St. Chrysostom; who, cited by Habertus (p. 79), has said: "Dum ordinantur sacerdotes evangelium capiti imponitur, quo discat ordinatus veram se accipere evangelii tiaram: discat etiam, tametsi omnium sit caput se tamen esse sub legibus, et quum omnibus dominetur legis imperio subjici: cumque omnibus legem ponat a lege gubernari.—Quod igitur evangelium accipiat pontifex, significat eum esse sub potestate constitutum." *Homil. de laude evangelii.*

We must not pass by without remark another matter which there is undeniable evidence to prove was connected with this placing of the book of the gospels upon the head of the new bishop. I shall extract the observations of Catalani: "Reliquum est, ut illud notemus, consuevisse olim cum evangelii codex super caput imponeretur, ex occurrenti in prima pagina sacri textus sententia faustum infaustumque omen de futura episcopi administratione prænosci. Certe, in ordinatione Athanasii patriarchæ Constantinopolitani, tradit Pachimera lib. 2. cap. xv. verba illa occurrisse: *qui paratus est diabolo, et angelis ejus.* Quod improbis ejusdem patriarchæ actis comprobatum est, eamque ob causam sede illa depulsus. Contra, in consecratione Lanfranci Cantuariensis archiepiscopi apparuerunt verba: *Date eleemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis.* Qui præsul in largiendo eleemosynas valde fuit insignis. Alia id generis exempla multa ecclesiastici scriptores produnt; ex quibus perperam quidam arbitrati sunt, ad inquirendas sortes evangelium in ordinatione episcoporum adhiberi consuevisse." *Comment. in pontif.* tom. 1. p. 196.

With respect to all this the

qui episcopi qui adsunt manibus suis caput ejus tangant, et dicat ordinator:[30]

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obvious wish is that these statements as to the fact may be unfounded: or at least that a practice so superstitious and objectionable was never recognised or allowed in this country. The case of Lanfranc, we must nevertheless confess, is unhappily supported by other examples: one, in the reign of Edward the confessor, of Wulstan bishop of Worcester: of whose consecration this circumstance is related: "nec vero sine divino nutu credi fas est prognosticon hoc ei fuisse, 'Ecce vero Israelita, in quo dolus non est.'" *Vita S. Wulstani*, *Anglia sacra*, tom. 2. p. 251. And another, the successor of Lanfranc: for Matthew Paris has told us of archbishop Anselm: "inter sacrandum, pro ritu ecclesiæ, codex evangelii ab episcopis super eum apertus tenebatur: consecratione autem peracta, cum codex inspiceretur, in paginæ summitate hæc sententia est reperta; 'Vocavit multos, et misit servum suum, et cœperunt omnes se excusare.'" *Hist.* p. 15. As has been already shown, the English pontificals are unanimous after this time in directing the book to be closed: and it can scarcely be denied that this special order was wisely and religiously intended to put a stop to such a practice; a practice which few would not condemn at all times, and much more on the occasion of so great a solemnity.

[28] "*Consecratore imponente utramque manum super caput electi, dicens ei:*

"Accipe Spiritum sanctum.

"*Idemque faciant et dicant omnes episcopi adstantes, quo finito incipiat consecrator hymnum:* Veni creator, &c. *Et cantetur usque in finem, et consecrator mediocri voce:*

"Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, &c.

"Propitiare, Domine, supplicationibus," &c. *Pontif. Exon.*

[29] "*illum apertum.*" Rubr. *pontif. Rom.*

[30] The rubric in the Roman pontifical after the imposition of the book of the gospels is similar to that in the Exeter MS.: "*Deinde consecrator et assistentes episcopi ambabus manibus caput consecrandi tangunt, dicentes:* Accipe Spiritum sanctum."

This is a remarkable difference, as the reader will presently see. For the later schoolmen have placed the "Form" in these words, "Accipe," &c. To quote the statement of Catalani: "Omnes prope scholastici, qui de materia et forma episcopatus disputant, illius formam in his

Veni Creator, *ut supra in ordinibus.*
Sequatur :

verbis constituunt: *Accipe Spiritum sanctum*, quæ a consecratore, et assistentibus episcopis, posito evangelii codice super ordinandi caput, et illud tangentibus, statim proferuntur." *Comment. in pontif.* tom. 1. p. 197. But none of the English pontificals except the Exeter contains this form: and Martene acknowledges "verba illa .... toti antiquitati ignota fuerunt: adeo ut vix in ullo pontificali annos 400 attingente reperiantur. Nam ex omnibus quæ percurrimus, tria tantum illa habent, Arelatense, Andegavense, et Guillelmi Durandi." The following is the decree of the council of Trent: "Si quis dixerit, per sacram ordinationem non dari Spiritum sanctum; ac proinde, frustra episcopos dicere; 'Accipe,' &c.—anathema sit." Morinus observes upon this, "Neque huic universæ traditioni contradicit concilium Tridentinum. Certum est quod ait per sacram ordinationem tradi Spiritum sanctum, neque frustra episcopos dicere, *Accipe Spiritum sanctum*, cum ordinationis virtute detur Spiritus sanctus. Alludit concilium ad ea verba quæ ab aliquot sæculis non tantum in episcopatus, sed etiam in presbyteratus et diaconatus collatione dicuntur. Non frustra igitur dicuntur ista verba, cum catholicis certum sit ord nationis ritu obicem non pone tibus Spiritum sanctum da et gratiam produci. Præter ab antiquissimis temporibus ta apud Latinos quam apud Gr cos, ... invocatur Spirit sanctus. . . . . . Sed aliqui a annis paulo plus minusque qu dringentis existimantes invoc tionem Spiritus sancti n sufficere, addere voluerunt tr ditionem Spiritus sancti mo imperativo. . . . . . Verum co cilium Tridentinum declara ordinationis sacræ princip effectu, inde verba illa ab e scopis non frustra dici tantu colligit, et merito; de forn autem in qua ordinationis spe hæreat, ne verbum quidem. his verbis formam definire volu sent patres, cum tres sint or nationis sacræ gradus, sive sp cies, et in unaquaque dicatu Accipe Spiritum sanctum, a unam saltem cui convenir definire debuerunt, quod ab non est factum; aut tribus sp ciebus conveniet, quod nen admittit. Sed rem ita se n habere ex argumento præc dente indubitanter constat." *sacris ordinationibus*, pars exerc. 2. cap. ij.

"Plerique recentiores cum M rino contendunt orationes p quas invocatur Spiritus sanct esse formam episcopatus, tu

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Propitiare,[31] Domine, supplicationibus nostris, et inclinato super hunc famulum tuum cornu gratiæ sacerdotalis, bene✠dictionis tuæ in eum effunde virtutem: per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitate Spiritus sancti, Deus.

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus: honor omnium dignitatum, quæ gloriæ tuæ sacris famulantur ordinibus. Deus, qui Moysen famulum tuum secreti familiaris affatu, inter cætera cœlestis documenta culturæ, de habitu quoque indumenti sacerdotalis instituens electum Aaron mystico amictu vestiri

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quia semper eæ usurpatæ fuerunt, et nunc ubique usurpantur orationes super eum qui in episcopum consecratur: tum etiam, quia illæ orationes exprimunt effectum ordinis episcopalis, scilicet collationem Spiritus sancti, seu gratiæ necessariæ episcopo, ut digne imposito sibi onere perfungatur: tum denique, quia illi Spiritus sancti invocationi sancti patres ascribunt effectum episcopatus." Catalani, tom. 1. p. 330.

"Christus non determinavit in specie formas plurium sacramentorum, sed eas reliquit ecclesiæ determinandas. Unde cum priora illa verba, *Accipe Spiritum sanctum*, perfecte exprimant effectum ordinationis episcopalis, assumi possunt ab ecclesia, ut forma ejus essentialis." Habert, *De sacram. ordinis*, cap. vij.

[31] This prayer with the succeeding proper preface is in the pontifical of archbishop Egbert and in that also of archbishop Dunstan.

inter sacra jussisti, ut intelligentiæ sensum de exemplis priorum caperet secutura posteritas, ne eruditio doctrinæ tuæ ulli deesset ætati: cum et apud veteres reverentiam ipsa significationum species obtineret, et apud nos certiora essent experimenta rerum, quam ænigmata figurarum. Illius namque sacerdotii anterioris habitus nostræ mentis ornatus est, et pontificalem gloriam non jam nobis honor commendat vestium, sed splendor animarum: quia et illa, quæ tunc carnalibus blandiebantur obtutibus, ea potius quæ in ipsis erant intelligenda poscebant. Et idcirco huic famulo tuo, quem ad summi sacerdotii ministerium elegisti, hanc, quæsumus Domine, gratiam largiaris, ut quicquid illa velamina in fulgore auri, in nitore gemmarum, et in multimodi operis varietate signabant, hoc in ejus moribus actibusque clarescat. Comple, Domine, in sacerdote tuo ministerii tui summam, et ornamentis totius glorificationis instructum, cœlestis unguenti rore sanctifica.

Tunc consecrator,[32] *depositis chirothecis et annulo pontificali resumpto, sedeat, et liget caput ejus qui*

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[32] "*Hic effundatur oleum chrismale super caput ejus in modum crucis.* Hoc, Domine, copiose," &c. *Pontif. Winton.*

"*Hic mittat chrisma in caput ejus, in modum crucis: leniter dicens:* Unguatur, et consecretur, &c.

"Pax tibi.

"Et cum spiritu tuo.

"*Tunc omnes episcopi perungant caput ejus manibus suis. Metropolitanus vero dicat quod sequitur more præfationis.* Hoc, Domine, copiose," &c. *Bangor.*

"*Hic mittat chrisma in coronam capitis electi cum pollice in modum crucis, leniter circumligato prius capite lineo retorto, ne chrisma defluat in capillos, ex more Romanæ curiæ, cum pollice dextræ manus totam tonsuram, dicens:* Unguatur, et consecretur," &c. *Exon.*

Both the Exeter and the Bangor MSS. omit the sentence "per sacri chrismatis . . . benedictionem" in the form at anointing.

consecretur cum fasciola de panno lineo mundo ad hoc præparata, ita quod fasciola circumdet caput sub corona, quæ tota debeat remanere libera: et expansa super genua consecrantis toballia, mittat chrisma cum oleo mixtum super caput ejus cum pollice dextro, dicens:[33]

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[33] I must refer the student for the ancient forms and prayers, as they were in the pontificals of Egbert and Dunstan, to Martene, tom. 2, where the ordinals are printed.

Menard, in his notes to the sacramentary of St. Gregory, cites what he believes to be an English pontifical in which the head was to be anointed twice: "Porro in pontificali, quod Anglicanum esse creditur, duplex est unctio capitis, prior cum oleo et chrismate, secunda post manuum unctionem cum oleo tantum. . . . Quæ non sunt in editis et aliis codicibus nostris." p. 517. Nor does Catalani or Martene seem to have known any other example of this practice.

It would therefore seem to have been peculiar to the ordinal of some of the English churches. The reader by a careful comparison of the note at page 276, and below, page 280, will see that the Winchester MS. exactly agrees with that which Menard speaks of; that the Exeter and Bangor pontificals anoint the head once only; and that the Salisbury use was to anoint the head twice; first with the mixed chrism and oil, and afterwards, before the unction of the hands, with chrism only.

My space prevents entering at length into the subject of the ancient unction of priests and bishops; but, referring the student to the chief writers on the subject, I would sum up the intention and meaning of the rite in the words of a very learned writer: "Concludo, sacerdotum tam superioris quam inferioris ordinis manus inungi; primo, ut ad laborem, ad ministerium, ad diligentem et sedulam operam utrorumque manus indurentur et confirmentur: secundo, ut ad misericordiæ opera charitatis oleo diffluentes manus habere moneantur, non aridas, non contractas, non illiberales: tertio, ut ad benedicendum, et sacramenta conficienda idonei reddantur: quarto, ut ad ligandum et solvendum habiliores efficiantur. Item, non sufficere episcopis, quod eorum in inferiori sacerdotio manus inunctæ fuerint, sed iterum cum consecrantur, inungi debere; tum quia ad benedicendum manus

Unguatur et consecretur caput tuum cœlesti benedictione, in ordine pontificali, per sacri chrismatis et olei unctionem, et nostram benedictionem. In nomine ✠ Patris, et ✠ Filii, et ✠ Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Pax tibi.

Resp. Et cum spiritu tuo.

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eorum sanctiores efficiendæ, tum quia sacerdotum consecratio, altarium, ecclesiarum, et cæterorum benedictio, sacramentorumque quorundam confectio tunc ipsis confertur: tum quia ad operosius ministerium, et honorificentius officium consecrantur: tum denique quia cum opes ecclesiæ in ipsorum potestate consistant, majorem largiendi habent occasionem, et ex suo statu ad pietatis, et supererogationis opera arctius devinciuntur. Chrismate vero episcopales manus, oleo presbyterales inungi; tum quod perfectionem illæ operentur, quæ chrismate bene olenti significatur: hæ illuminandis præsertim mentibus incumbant, quæ illuminatio oleo, quod ignis pabulum esse solet, convenienter exprimitur: tum quod in corpus Christi mysticum episcopi presbyteris majorem habeant potestatem; utrique vero in corpus Christi verum per se æqualem virtutem habeant: quæ scilicet præsertim conscientiæ puritate et nitore indiget: si quid proinde detrahi debet presbyterali unctione, quo præcellere ipsi possit episcopalis, non oleum, quod conscientiæ puritatem designat, sed balsamum, quod famæ claritatem significat, detrahendum, illudque episcopalis unctionis materiæ adjungendum. Denique infero, caput solius episcopi inungi, quia solus regiminis perfectam scientiam, solus gratiæ præsidendi perfectionem, solus regendi absolutam auctoritatem, solus perfectæ ecclesiæ caput est episcopus, solus tandem caput ecclesiæ Christum perfectius exhibet: presbyteri nec plenitudinem omnem sacerdotii sibi vendicant, nec sine episcopis aliquid gerendi auctoritatem, nec perfectæ ecclesiæ capita sunt, nec Christi perfecta exemplaria." Hallier, *De sacris electionibus*, pars iii. viij. 10. p. 464.

Much more information as to details may be found in the decretal epistle of Innocent III, *de sacra unct.*; the *Gemma animæ*, cap. 181; Hugo S. Victor, *de sacram.* lib. 1. cap. 40; Morinus, *de sacris ordin.* exercit. vj; and Habertus, *pontif. ecc. Græcæ*, cap. 28.

Et nota, si plures sint qui consecrantur, hoc in persona cujuslibet singulariter repetatur.[34]

Postea, abstersis manibus, incipiat archiepiscopus et dicat in modum præfationis:

Hoc, Domine, copiose in ejus caput influat, hoc in oris ejus subjecta decurrat, hoc in totius corporis extrema descendat, ut tui Spiritus virtus et interiora ejus repleat, et exteriora circumtegat. Abundet in eo constantia fidei, puritas dilectionis, sinceritas pacis. Sint speciosi, munere tuo, pedes ejus ad evangelizandum pacem, ad evangelizandum bona tua. Da ei, Domine, ministerium reconciliationis, in verbis et in factis, in virtute signorum et prodigiorum. Sit sermo ejus, et prædicatio, non in persuabilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis, sed in ostensione spiritus et virtutis. Da ei, Domine, claves regni cœlorum, ut utatur, non glorietur, potestate quam tribuis in ædificationem, non in destructionem. Quodcumque ligaverit super terram sit ligatum et in cœlis, et quodcumque solverit super terram sit solutum et in cœlis. Quorum detinuerit peccata detenta sint, et quorum dimiserit, tu dimittas. Qui maledixerit ei, sit ille maledictus: et qui benedixerit ei, benedictionibus repleatur. Sit fidelis servus et prudens, quem constituas tu, Domine, super familiam tuam; ut det illis cibum in tempore opportuno, et exhibeat omnem hominem perfectum. Sit sollicitudine

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[34] The Exeter pontifical inserts here an antiphon and psalm:—

"*Ant.* Unguentum in capite quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron: quod descendit in oram vestimenti ejus, mandavit Dominus in benedictionem. *Psalmus* 132. Ecce quam bonum. *Et post unumquemque versum repetatur* Unguentum: *qua completa perficiat consecrator præfationem:* Hoc, Domine, copiose," &c.

impiger, sit spiritu fervens. Oderit superbiam, humilitatem diligat, nec eam unquam deserat, aut laudibus aut timore superatus. Non ponat lucem tenebras, nec tenebras lucem: non dicat malum bonum, nec bonum malum. Sit sapientibus et insipientibus debitor, ut fructum de profectu omnium consequatur. ✠ Tribuas ei, Domine, cathedram episcopalem, ad regendam ecclesiam tuam, et plebem sibi commissam. Sis ei auctoritas: sis ei potestas: sis ei firmitas. Multiplices super eum bene✠dictionem, et gratiam tuam: ut ad exorandam semper misericordiam tuam tuo munere idoneus, et tua gratia possit esse devotus:

Terminando secrete: Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Et respondeant omnes: Amen.

Et tunc sequatur[35] *oratio elevata aliquantulum voce, et manu super eum dextera extensa. Oratio.*

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[35] There is great variety here between the pontificals. I shall first state the order of the Winchester MS.:—

"*Alia.* Pater sancte, omnipotens Deus, &c.

"*Benedictio de septiformi Spiritu.*

"Spiritus sanctus septiformis, &c.

"*Consecratio manuum episcopi ab archiepiscopo, oleo sancto et chrismate:* Unguantur manus istæ, &c.

"*Hic mittatur oleum super caput ejus:* Unguetur et consecretur caput, &c.

"*Hic imponatur mitra capiti ejus:*

"*Benedictio annuli.* Sanctifica, quæsumus Domine, annulum istum, ut famulus tuus, *N*, gestator illius, quem in ordinem episcopalem electum sacravimus, fide sit plenus, operatione sincerus, in revelandis atque claudendis sacris mysteriis, salubri semper consideratione, discretus. Per.

"*Cum datur annulus.* Accipe annulum discretionis, et honoris, fidei signum; ut quæ signanda

Pater sancte, omnipotens Deus, qui per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum ab initio cuncta creasti, et postmodum in fine temporum secundum pollicitationem quam Abraham patriarcha noster acceperat, ecclesiam quoque sanctorum congregatione fundasti, ordinatis rebus per quas legibus a te datis disciplinæ religio regeretur: præsta ut hic famulus tuus sit

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sunt signes, et quæ aperienda sunt prodas, quæ liganda sunt liges, quæ solvenda sunt solvas, atque credentibus per fidem baptismatis lapsis et pœnitentibus, per ministerium reconciliationis januas regni cœlestis aperias, cunctis vero de thesauro dominico nova et vetera proferas, ad æternam salutem omnibus consolatio factus: gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit, &c.

"*Benedictio baculi.* Sustentator humanæ, &c.

"*Cum datur baculus.* Accipe baculum pastoralis officii: et sis in corrigendis vitiis pie sæviens, judicium sine ira tenens, cum iratus fueris misericordiæ reminiscens.

"*Postea archiepiscopus ut incepit missam, peragat.*"

Much which is ordered in both the Winchester and Sarum MSS. is omitted in the Bangor:—

"*Tunc cantet clerus communiter hanc antiphonam.*

"Unguentum in capite, &c. *Et per unumquemque versum psalmi repetat communiter clerus antiphonam.*

"*Completa autem benedictione, confirmet manum et pollicem consecrans cum chrismate, dicens:*

"Deus, et Pater, &c.

"*Benedictio baculi pastoralis:* Sustentator humanæ, &c.

"*Cum datur baculus pastoralis, dicat ordinator:* Accipe baculum, &c.

"*Benedictio annuli:* Creator et conservator, &c.

"*Ad annulum digito imponendum:* Accipe annulum, &c.

"*Benedictio mitræ:* Deus, cujus providentia, &c.

"*Cum datur mitra dicatur:* Deus, qui mitræ, &c.

"*Data mitra, det ei codicem evangeliorum, dicens:* Accipe evangelium," &c.

Then follow the reading of the gospel and the proper mass: with no direction, as in the text below, for the mass which the newly-consecrated bishop was to say.

The Exeter pontifical follows the order of the Bangor MS. after the antiphon; which according to the use of that church had already been said; see above, note 34.

tuis ministeriis cunctisque fideliter gerendis officiis dignus, ut antiquitus instituta sacramentorum possit mysteria celebrare, et per te in summum ad quod assumitur sacerdotium conse✠cretur. Sit super eum bene✠dictio tua, licet manu nostra sit porrecta. Præcipe, Domine, huic pascere oves tuas, ac tribue ut in commissa gregis custodia sollicitus pastor vigilet. Spiritus huic sanctus tuus cœlestium charismatum divisor assistat, ut sicut electus gentium doctor instituit, sit justitia non indigens, benignitate pollens, hospitalitate diffusus; servet in exhortationibus alacritatem, in persecutionibus fidem, in caritate patientiam, in veritate constantiam, in hæresibus ac vitiis omnibus odium sciat, in æmulationibus nesciat; in judiciis gratiosum esse sinas, et gratum esse concedas. Postremo omnia a te largiter discat, quæ salubriter tuos doceat. Sacerdotium ipsum opus esse existimet, non dignitatem. Proficiant ei honoris augmenta, etiam ad incrementa meritorum: ut per hæc sicut apud nos nunc asciscitur in sacerdotium, ita apud te postea asciscatur in regnum.[36]

Benedictio de septiformi Spiritu, sic:

Spiritus sanctus septiformis veniat super te, et omnis benedictio, quæ in scripturis sanctis scripta est, super te veniat. Confirmet te Deus Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, ut habeas vitam æternam, et vivas in sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.

Post hæc chorus cantet hanc antiphonam:

Unguentum in capite quod descendit in barbam,

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[36] This long prayer and the benediction which follows also seem to have been peculiar to the church of England; and as we find it in the pontifical of Dunstan, but not of Egbert, to have been introduced about the tenth century.

barbam Aaron, quod descendit in oram vestimenti ejus. Mandavit Dominus benedictionem in sæculum sæculi. Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum.

Repetatur antiphona post unumquemque versum.

Sicut unguentum in capite, quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron.

Quod descendit in oram vestimenti ejus, sicut ros Hermon, qui descendit in montem Sion.

Quoniam illic mandavit Dominus benedictionem, et vitam usque in sæculum.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Hic mittatur solum chrisma super caput ejus.

Unguatur et consecretur caput tuum cœlesti benedictione in ordine pontificali, per sacri chrismatis unctionem et nostram benedictionem. In nomine Patris ✠, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus ✠ sancti. Amen.

Unguantur manus istæ,[37] et sanctificentur, et in

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[37] There is no mention of any unction of the hands in the sacramentary of St. Gregory; and I think it may be asserted that the pontifical of archbishop Egbert is the earliest in which it is to be found. From England it was however adopted not long after into the foreign churches, as appears from several ancient orders printed by Martene. There are frequent references also in several authors to this practice, reaching up to nearly the time of Egbert. Peter Damian speaks of it, in immediate connexion with the consecration of bishops: "liniuntur et manus, ut quicquid benedixerint benedicatur, et acceptum sit divinæ majestatis aspectui." Serm. 1. *de ecc. dedicatione.* And pope Innocent the third: "hoc unguento caput, et manus episcopi consecrentur." *De sacr. unctione,* cap. 1. Menard cites also a synodical epistle (concil. Carisiacum, *Quiercy on Oise*) A. D. 838, in which the unction of the hands is spoken of.

The student will see below that this unction was ordered to

te Deo deorum ordinentur. Unguo manus has oleo sanctificato et chrismate unctionis purificato: ut sicut unxit Moyses verbo oris sui manus sancti Aaron germani sui, et sicut unxit Spiritus sanctus per suos flatus manus sanctorum apostolorum; ita unguantur manus istæ et sanctificentur et consecrentur, ut in omnibus sint perfectæ in nomine tuo, Pater, Filiique, atque æterni Spiritus sancti, qui es unus summus Deus omnium vivorum et mortuorum, manens in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Hic peractis, ipse qui consecratur extendat manus suas ambas, unam juxta alteram, ante consecratorem:

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extend from the right thumb; and from note 35, that in the Bangor use the thumb is still more particularly specified. Both Menard and Catalani have observed this in some manuscripts which they had collated; and remark upon it as proving that there was in some churches a separate unction of the thumb. In fact, an ancient ordinal of the church of Rouen (before referred to) has an express prayer "ad pollicem consecrandum." This MS. does not, however, make any mention of an unction of the hands; Mabillon, *Analecta*, p. 229. But it is doubtful whether this separate unction of the thumb was adopted at any time by the church of Salisbury; and it is further not impossible that the variations of the English manuscripts consist only in the obscurity of the rubrics, all meaning the same thing, as is clearly enough expressed in the text above, namely, that the unction of the hands should begin from the right thumb. Menard cites a passage, not very clear, in support of his view from Gulielmus Parisiensis: "Quemadmodum in consecratione pontificum perfectio, et plenitudo legitur; sicut in unctionibus capitis, manuum, et pollicis, pinguedo internæ unctionis." *Cap. de extr. uncl.* A short rubric has been inserted in a later hand into the margin of the Sarum pontifical from which the text is taken, which would seem to direct that a separate unction of the thumb was to be performed; but it would scarcely be safe to rely upon the authority of such an interpolation: "Hic prius consecrator, et post alii episcopi, chrismate confirment pollicem dexterum electi, sic dicendo: 'Oremus.'"

et consecrator fundens chrisma super manus, cum pollice faciat crucem unguendo a pollice dextro usque ad indicem sinistrum, et liniat totas ipsius ab interiori parte, dicens sine nota:

Deus, et Pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui te ad pontificatus sublimari voluit dignitatem, ipse te chrismate et mysticæ delibutionis liquore perfundat, et spiritualis bene✠dictionis ubertate fœcundet, ut quicquid benedixeris bene✠dicatur, et quicquid sanctificaveris sancti✠ficetur: et conse✠cratæ manus tuæ, vel pollicis, impositio cunctis proficiat ad salutem. Amen.[38]

Immensam clementiam tuam rogamus, omnipotens et piissime Deus, ut manus istius famuli tui, scilicet fratris nostri, sicut exterius obducuntur chirothecis istis, sic interius aspergantur rore tuæ benedictionis, ut quæcunque per eas sint benedicenda, sanctificanda, vel consecranda, per te benedicentur, sanctificentur, et consecrentur. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre, in unitate.

Et repetatur pro quolibet, si plures sint: deinde simponantur chirothecæ.[39] *Deinde consecrator, abs-*

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[38] The reason why the hands of a bishop were anointed is given by pope Innocent: "Per manus opera intelliguntur, juxta illud; *manus meæ distillaverunt myrrham.* Manus igitur inunguntur oleo pietatis, ut episcopus operetur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei." And again: "Manus episcopi inunguntur ut ostendatur accipere potestatem benedicendi et consecrandi." *De sacra unctione,* cap. 1. See also Hallier on the question why the rite of unction already performed at ordination to the priesthood should be repeated; *De sacris ordinat.* p. 1026.

[39] In the first rubric of this service, among the necessaries to be provided, the "chirothecæ" are specified: yet with the exception of this reference we have no notice taken of them in the order of consecration. But there is a rubric added immediately before this prayer, in

interius in moribus famuli tui propitiationis clementia operetur. Per Dominum.

Quum datur baculus dicat ordinator :[40]

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[40] The pontificals of Egbert and Dunstan deliver the pastoral staff: and there are numerous early writers who mention it as a part of the office of consecration. Isidore Hispalensis says: "huic autem, dum consecratur, datur baculus, ut ejus indicio subditam plebem vel regat, vel corrigat, vel infirmitates infirmorum sustineat. Datur et annulus," etc. *De div. off.* lib. 2. v. Venerable Bede also, the contemporary of Egbert: "baculum habet episcopus, ut subditos regat, infirmos sustineat." *De vij. ordinibus.* Martene cites also the following from a life of St. Cæsar Arelatensis: "Cum ergo vir Dei Cæsarius per eamdem pergeret ecclesiam, clericus cui cura erat baculum illius portare, quod notariorum officium erat, oblitus est;" tom. 2. p. 28. Once more; Hugo St. Victor explains other meanings attached to the pastoral staff: "Episcopo, dum regimen ecclesiæ committitur, baculus quasi pastori traditur, in quo tria notantur, quæ significatione non carent, recurvitas, virga, cuspis; significatio hoc carmine continetur:

Collige, sustenta, stimula,— vaga, morbida, lenta:
Hoc est pastoris, hoc virga figurat honoris.

Item,

Attraho peccantes, justos rogo, pungo vagantes,
Officio triplici servio pontifici."

De sacram. cap. xl.

Croziers or pastoral staffs form very frequent items in mediæval inventories. Numerous, however, as they must once have been, mediæval examples are rare now, and especially in what was once a material very commonly employed, ivory. Copper, richly decorated with enamel, and silver croziers are to be found in most great public collections. My space will not allow even a brief abstract of the many books which have been written on croziers: on ivory croziers I have made a few remarks in a book already mentioned, a *Dissertation on ancient ivories*, to which the reader may refer.

We have a fifteenth-century explanation of the crozier in the dialogue between Dives and Pauper. "*Pauper.* The bysshops crosse is called a shepherd's staffe to styre the bysshop to lownesse, and to thynke on the cure and on the besynesse and the charge that he taketh upon hym when he is made bysshop. He bereth no ceptre of worldely dygnyte to

Accipe baculum pastoralis officii: et sis in corrigendis vitiis pie sæviens, judicium sine ira tenens, in fovendis virtutibus auditorum animos demulcens, in tranquillitate severitatis censuram non deserens.

Et repetatur pro quolibet, si plures sint.

Benedictio annuli.

Creator et conservator humani generis, dator gratiæ spiritualis, largitor æternæ salutis, tu Domine, emitte benedictionem tuam super hunc annulum, ut qui eum gestaverit, armatus virtute cœlestis defensionis proficiat ad salutem mentis et corporis. Per Dominum.

Post hæc consecrator mittat annulum[41] *in digitum annularem dextræ manus consecrati, dicens:*

Accipe annulum fidei scilicet signaculum, quatenus

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styre hym to pryde, ne bereth ne swerde that is token of cruelte, but he bereth a shepherdes staff, not to slee ne to smyte, but for to saue his sheep that ben his suggetts spyrytually, whiche staff aboue is croked in maner of an hoke to drawe agen that wolde not come, or ellys go awaye." *Eighth commandment*, cap. ix.

[41] The delivery of the ring also forms a part of the ceremonial of Egbert: and before that time Isidore Hispalensis, in the place before cited, note 40, immediately adds: "datur et annulus propter signum pontificalis honoris, vel signaculum secretorum." Neither Amalarius, Alcuin, nor Rabanus Maurus makes any mention of it; and Catalani supposes that it was not until after their time that it was generally introduced into the churches of Germany. *Comment.* tom. 1. p. 208. The author, however, of the *Gemma animæ* speaks of it, and says: "Annuli usus ex evangelio acceptus creditur, ubi saginati vituli conviva prima stola vestitur, annulo insignitur . . . . pontifex ergo annulum portat, ut se sponsum ecclesiæ agnoscat, ac pro illa animam, si necesse fuerit, sicut Christus ponat." Cap. 216. *Bibl. patrum, auct.* tom. 1. col. 1235.

Bishop Gardiner, in his will quoted just above, says: "Item, I bequeath to my successour . . . . a pontificall ringe with a saphier."

Dei sponsam, sanctam Dei videlicet ecclesiam, intemerata fide ornatus, illibate custodias.

Et repetatur pro quolibet si plures sint.

Benedictio mitræ.

Deus, cujus providentia statuit ut mitra pontificis caput ornaret, misericordiæ suæ dono concedat, ut hoc capitis ornamentum ministerio bonorum operum ad ornatum animæ convertatur. Per Dominum.

Cum datur mitra,[42] *dicat ordinator:*

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[42] This ceremony is of very late introduction: Catalani supposes that there is no trace of it in any pontifical before the twelfth century; but as the reader has already seen, the Winchester manuscript has a reference to it but without an express prayer: "*Hic imponatur mitra capiti ejus.*" The benediction and prayer both occur in the Bangor pontifical.

I do not think it requisite to enter here into the controversy as to the date at which mitres began to be used in the western Church. The great authorities for an extreme antiquity are Saussajus, *Panoplia episcopalis*, lib. i, and Joseph Vicecomes, *De app. missæ*, cap. xxix. Cardinal Bona takes a middle view of the question by drawing a distinction between the mitre, properly so called, and some other ornament of the head which, of some kind, was always worn from the primitive ages; *Rerum lit.* lib. 1. cap. xxiv. Martene, *de ant. ecc. rit.* lib. 1. cap. iv, following Mabillon, præf. sæc. iv. Bened. p. ii. clxxxij, takes another ground: that the mitre was always an episcopal ornament, but that for many centuries it was made the subject of an especial grant and privilege from the pope. Lastly, Menard, in his notes to the sacramentary of St. Gregory, declares that it was not introduced until the tenth century; and he relies upon the fact that there is no mention made of it in the ancient pontificals, nor in the ritualists before that time; neither by Alcuin nor Amalarius, &c. This is undoubtedly a very powerful argument; and the only fact by way of evidence which is brought upon the other side is an account of the examination of some supposed remains of pope Leo the great: "in quibus super ejus caput mitræ genus inventum est." Georgius, tom. 1. p. 231. So that the question, as regards facts, is still

Deus qui mitræ pontificalis honore te voluit insignire clementer annuat, ut quæ per mitræ cornua

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where Menard has left it. The most probable opinion seems to be that of cardinal Bona.

But I would add an extract from Innocent III. as to the mystical meaning and signification of the mitre: "Mitra pontificis scientiam utriusque testamenti significat; nam duo cornua duo sunt testamenta, duæ fimbriæ spiritus et litera: circulus aureus, qui anteriorem et posteriorem partem complectitur, indicat, quod omnis scriba doctus in regno cœlorum de thesauro suo nova profert, et vetera. Caveat ergo diligenter episcopus, ne prius velit esse magister, quam norit esse discipulus, ne si cæcus cæcum duxerit, ambo in foveam cadant." Lib. 1. cap. xliv. The student can consult also the *Gemma animæ*, cap. 214. Hugo Victorinus, *de sacr.* lib. 1. cap. 55; both these in the *Auctarium* to the *Bibl. patrum*, tom. 1; and Durandus, lib. 3. cap. xiij. 5.

There were three kinds of mitres in use by English bishops during the middle ages; the same as those described in the *Cæremoniale:* "Mitræ usus antiquissimus est, et ejus triplex est species. Una quæ pretiosa dicitur, quia gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis, vel laminis aureis vel argenteis, contexta esse solet. Altera auriphrygiata sine gemmis, et sine laminis aureis vel argenteis, sed vel ex aliquibus parvis margaritis composita, vel ex serico albo, auro intermixto, vel ex tela aurea simplici, sine laminis et margaritis. Tertia quæ simplex vocatur, sine auro, ex simplici serico damasceno, vel alio, aut etiam linea, ex tela alba confecta, rubeis laciniis, seu frangiis pendentibus." *Cærem. episc.* lib. 1. cap. xvij. That these three distinctions of mitres are very ancient is proved by the old Ordo, as old at least as the time of Gregory the tenth, in which the three mitres are mentioned. Mabillon, *Mus. Italic.* tom. 2. p. 232.

The mitre is a very frequent item in old inventories; and in the appendix to Dart's *Canterbury*, p. xiij, we find examples of each of the three kinds: "aurea cum perlis infra et extra, et gemmis pretiosis;" "mitra argentea cum ij crucibus," &c.; and "mitræ ij simplices de bokram."

It does not come into the scope of these volumes, neither have I space, to enquire into the rules under which abbots were allowed the privilege of mitres. The student may consult Catalani, tom. 1. p. 257, for certain

figurantur, ad tutelam et salutem animæ fortiter et prudenter corde tractes et ore. Per Christum.

Et repetatur pro quolibet si plures sint.

Postea det eis codicem evangeliorum, dicens:[43]

Accipe evangelium, et vade, prædica populo tibi commisso: potens est enim Deus augere tibi gratiam suam, qui vivit et regnat Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.[44]

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restrictions by pope Clement in 1267; and an important concession in 1351 to the prior of Worcester, printed in the *Concilia*, tom. 3. p. 201. Also I must refer him to the common books upon the subject of ecclesiastical vestments for the variations of shape, from the ninth or tenth century down to the sixteenth.

[43] There is not any notice of this ceremony in the Anglo-saxon pontificals; the unction, the ring, and the staff are appointed in all of them, but not the mitre or the book of the gospels. None, also, of the earlier ritualists mention it; Isidore, or Alcuin, or Amalarius: and as it is not enjoined in the Winchester MS. although we find it in the Bangor, we may conclude that it began to be generally adopted in England, soon after the mitre, in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Some writers have argued that this delivering of the gospels is "pars materiæ episcopatus;" to this Morinus objects, that the new bishop is after the unction styled by the rubrics "consecratus," and not "electus;" *De sacr. ordin.* p. 18. And Catalani agrees with him; *Comment.* tom. 1. p. 210. But as far as the argument is concerned, it is somewhat curious that in this particular place the rubric of the Sarum pontifical does call the bishop "electus." Nevertheless we may entirely consent to the judgment of Catalani that all these parts of the ordinal, the staff, ring, mitre, &c., are neither necessary nor essential; to use his words, resting on his argument from the term *consecratus*, "quod quidem indicium est minime obscurum, nostrum Romanum pontificale, traditiones illas baculi, annuli, et evangelii habere, ut meras cæremonias consecrato episcopo accedentes." *Ibid.*

[44] "*Demum consecrator recipit consecratum ad osculum pacis; similiter et assistentes episcopi, dicentes ipsi consecrato.* Pax tibi. *Et ipse respondet singulis.* Et cum spiritu tuo." Rubr. *Pontif. Rom.*

Pax tibi.

Resp. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Et repetatur pro quolibet si plures sint.

Et dominus metropolitanus, vel consecrator, peragat missam.

Electus autem[45] *juxta præscriptum ordinem consecratus, inclinet se metropolitano vel consecratori gratias referendo, quem duo episcopi adducant in locum ubi provisum est, ubi missam de sancta Maria celebret.*

Secretum, cum secreto de die:

Suscipe, Domine, munera quæ tibi offerimus pro famulo tuo, ut propitius in eodem tua dona custodias. Per Dominum nostrum.

Infra canonem.

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quam tibi offerimus, etiam pro famulo tuo quem ad episcopatus ordinem promovere dignatus es, quæsumus Domine, ut placatus accipias, et propitius in eo tua dona custodias; ut quod divino munere consecutus est, divinis effectibus exequatur: diesque nostros: *Et cætera omnia sicut continentur in canone missæ.*

Postcommunio.

Plenum, quæsumus Domine, in nobis remedium

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[45] The rubric in this place of the Exeter pontifical throws some light upon that in the text, but it does not specify the mass which was to be said:—

"*Et tunc legatur evangelium; quo lecto, episcopus novus ex more Romanæ ecclesiæ ex institutione papæ Melchiadis habet offerre duos magnos panes, duas amphoras vini, et duos magnos cereos, sed istas oblationes non observat ecclesia Anglicana: sed lecto evangelio recedat episcopus de novo consecratus, quem deducant duo episcopi ad locum ubi missam est celebraturus. Postea dominus consecrator inceptam missam peragat.*" See, however, the first rubric of the Sarum office.

tuæ miserationis operare; et tales nos esse perfice propitius, et sic foveri, ut tibi in omnibus placere valeamus. Per Dominum.

Alia missa in ordinatione episcopi.

Deus, qui ad ineffabilis observantiam sacramenti famulorum tuorum præparas voluntates, donis tuis corda nostra purifica, ut quod sancta est devotione tractandum, sinceris mentibus exequamur. Per.

Secretum.

Hæc hostia, quæsumus Domine, emundet nostra delicta: et sacrificium celebrandum subditorum tibi corpora mentes sanctificet. Per Dominum.

Infra canonem. Hanc igitur.

Resp. ut supra in alla missa.

Post communio.

Hæc nos communio, Domine, purget a crimine, et cœlestis remedii faciat esse consortes, per Dominum.

Item alia missa episcopi pro se in die ordinationis suæ.

Oratio.

Deus, qui non propriis suffragantibus meritis sed sola ineffabilis gratiæ largitate me familiæ tuæ præesse voluisti: tribue me tibi digne persolvere ministerium sacerdotalis officii et ecclesiasticis convenienter servire mysteriis, plebemque mihi commissam, te in omnibus protegente, gubernare concede. Per Dominum.

Secretum.

Ad gloriam, Domine, tui nominis, annua festa repetentes sacerdotalis officii, hostiam tibi laudis offerimus, suppliciter exorantes, ut cujus ministerii vice tibi servimus immeriti, suffragiis reddamur accepti. Per Dominum.

Infra canonem.

Hanc igitur oblationem quam tibi offero ego famulus tuus et sacerdos, ob diem in qua me dignatus es in ministerio sacro constituere sacerdotem, obsecro, Domine, placatus accipias, unde majestatem tuam exoro ut quod in me largiri dignatus es, propitius custodire digneris: diesque nostros.

Benedictio super populum.

Deus, qui me indignum et peccatorem ad pontificale officium dignatus est promovere, sua vos illustret atque sanctificet benedictione. Amen.

Donet mihi per gratiam suam bene operandi facultatem: et vobis sui famulatus promptissimam obeditionem. Amen.

Sicque vos doctrinis spiritualibus et operibus bonis repleri in præsenti vita concedat: ut ad pascua vitæ æternæ cum cæteris ovibus suis vos pariter introducat. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare dignetur.

Postcommunio.

Repleantur consolationibus tuis, quæsumus Domine, tuorum corda fidelium, pariterque et de ecclesiæ præsule, et de suorum votorum plenitudine, gratiarum tibi referant actiones.

Officium.

Sacerdotes Dei benedicite Dominum: sancti et humiles corde laudate Deum.

In tempore paschali: Alleluia.

Psalmus. Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino: laudate et superexaltate eum, in sæcula.

Pax vobis. Oremus.

Oratio.

Deus, cujus arbitrio omnium sæculorum ordo decurrit, respice propitius ad me famulum tuum, quem

ad ordinem episcopatus promovere dignatus es, et ut tibi mea servitus complaceat, tua in me dona misericorditer conserva. Per Dominum.

Epistola ad Hebræos.

Fratres: Omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus, pro hominibus constituitur in iis quæ sunt ad Deum, ut offerat dona, et sacrificia pro peccatis. Qui condolere possit iis qui ignorant et errant, quoniam et ipse circumdatus est infirmitate. Et propterea debet quemadmodum pro populo, ita etiam et pro semetipso offerre pro peccatis. Nec quisquam sumit sibi honorem: sed qui vocatur a Deo, tanquam Aaron, quemadmodum scriptum est: Tu es sacerdos in æternum, secundum ordinem Melchisedech.

Graduale. Sacerdotes ejus induant salutare, et sancti ejus exultatione exultabunt.

Versus. Illuc producam cornu David, paravi lucernam Christo meo. Alleluia.

Versus. Posui adjutorium super potentem, et exaltavi electum de plebe mea.

In septuagesima dicatur tractus.

Beatus vir qui timet Dominum, in mandatis ejus cupit nimis.

Versus. Potens in terra erit semen ejus, generatio rectorum benedicetur.

Versus. Gloria et divitiæ in domo ejus, et justitia ejus manet in sæculum sæculi.

Secundum Johannem.

In illo tempore: Dixit Jesus discipulis suis, Ego sum pastor bonus. Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis. Mercenarius autem qui non est pastor, cujus non sunt oves propriæ, videt lupum venientem, et dimittit oves, et fugit. Et lupus rapit et dispergit oves. Mercenarius autem fugit quia

mercenarius est; et non pertinet ad eum de ovibus. Ego sum pastor bonus. Et cognosco oves meas, et cognoscunt me meæ. Sicut novit me Pater, et ego agnosco Patrem: et animam meam pono pro ovibus meis. Et alias oves habeo quæ non sunt ex hoc ovili, et illas oportet me adducere, et vocem meam audient. Et fiet unum ovile, et unus pastor.

Offertorium.

Inveni David servum meum, et in oleo sancto unxi eum. Manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei, et brachium meum confortabit eum.

In tempore paschali. Alleluia.

Secretum.

Tibi, Domine Deus meus, devotionis meæ hostias immolo: adoro, pariterque deprecor clementiam tuam, ut me sacrificium mortificatione vitæ carnalis effectum in odorem suavitatis accipias, ac moribus quibus professioni meæ congruam instituas: ut sanctæ compunctionis ardore quem ab hominum cæterorum proposito segregasti, a conversatione carnali, et ab immunditia actuum terrenorum infusa mihi cœlitus sanctitate discernas, ut omnia terrena despiciam, cœlestia appetam. Per Dominum.

Communio. Fidelis servus et prudens, quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam, ut det illis in tempore tritici mensuram.

In tempore paschali: Alleluia. Alleluia.

Postcommunio.

Munerum tuorum, Domine, largitatem sumentes supplices deprecamur, ut quibus donasti hujus ministerii servitutem, exequendi gratiæ tuæ tribuas facultatem. Per Dominum.

Inthronizatio episcopi cum ad sedem episcopatus sui advenerit.

De Inthronizatione Episcopi.[1]

DIE inthronizationis statuto, omnes prælati episcopatus, literatorie vocati, intersint hujusmodi solemnitati.

Decanus cum cæteris dignitatibus et canonicis

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[1] I shall offer no apology for the length of the note which I insert here, as the importance of it will (I trust) amply justify me. It contains, first, the order of receiving and enthroning the bishop of Salisbury in his own cathedral, about the middle of the fifteenth century. Although bearing a close resemblance to the order printed in the text, from the manuscript which has supplied so many of the offices edited in these volumes, yet there will be found some important variations. The order in the text is that which was used in the cathedral to which the pontifical originally belonged, and which very probably retained in such an office as the enthronisation of its bishop some ancient peculiarities.

In the same way, there are variations between the form of the greater excommunication as it was said on some occasions in the cathedral of Salisbury, and the same form as it stands in the editions of the *Manuale ad usum Sarum*. See the form in vol. 3. And, again, the form of bidding the bedes, printed below, will be found to differ from those in the printed manuals.

The order which now follows is taken from a manuscript in the possession of the dean and chapter of Salisbury. There are careful erasures in many parts, some of which are shown below, rendering the words quite illegible. It is unfortunately much rubbed and defaced in other places:—

"*Sequitur hic modus recipiendi novum episcopum, post munus consecrationis adeptum, antequam inthronizetur in ecclesia cathedrali Sarum. In primis ordinabitur processio per illos quorum interest more duplicis festi, in qua præcedere debent quatuor personæ ecclesiæ processionaliter. Primo ex parte decani, post cruces et alios ministros ecclesiæ ad hoc specialiter deputatos, præcedat dominus decanus; deinde cancellarius, et post eum duo archidiaconi; Dorsetiæ videlicet et Sarum: et tunc alii canonici sacerdotes, deinde*

ecclesiæ occurrant episcopo extra civitatem, et eo salutato revertantur, ita quod commode possit revestiri.

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canonici diaconi, et post eos canonici subdiaconi, prout stare solent in choro ex parte decani. Deinde vicarii majores et minores ex parte domini decani. Aliam vero partem processionis teneat præcentor primo, et post eum thesaurarius, et duo archidiaconi: videlicet Barokshire et Wyltshire. Deinde canonici et vicarii, ut dictum est de parte decani: qui omnes procedant honesto et lento [?] *passu per magnum ostium occidentale ecclesiæ, usque ad magnam portam clausi canonicorum borealem* . . . .

. . . .

. . . . . . *cantando interim resp.* Cives apostolorum. *Et cum prædicti tres, episcopus viz. decanus, et præcentor, ad præfatum ostium pervenerint, unus alius canonicus, procurator decani et capituli sufficienter constitutus, præfatum episcopum ad juramentum fidelitatis eidem ecclesiæ præstandum requiret consuetum, ac ad faciendum ulterius in ea parte quod necessarium fuerit, seu etiam opportunum, prout clarius dictant sacræ et consuetæ prædictæ ecclesiæ sanctiones. Quo facto, præfatæ processionis diaconus textum evangeliorum, dictum juramentum continentem, eisdem offerre tenebitur sine mora. Cujus quidem juramenti tenor sequitur sub hac forma.*

"In Dei nomine. Amen. Nos .*N*. permissione divina ecclesiæ Saresburiensis episcopus, promittimus et juramus ipsi ecclesiæ Saresburiensi fidelitatem, et quod consuetudines ejusdem ecclesiæ antiquas, approbatas, illæsas observabimus, ac pro ipsius ecclesiæ juribus, libertatibus, et dignitatibus fideliter defensandis, opem et operam impendemus. Sic Deus nos adjuvet, et hæc sancta.

"*Et consequenter textum osculabitur supradictum. Quibus peractis præcentor incipiet antiphonam,* Beata Dei genitrix. *Et prædicti duo episcopum usque ad supremum gradum summi altaris adducent, choro interim canente antiphonam supradictam. Ipsoque episcopo ibidem coram altari prostrato, decanus sive excellentior preces dicat, cum nota solemniter, subsequentes.*

"Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

"*Resp.* Sed libera.

"Salvum fac servum tuum.

"*Resp.* Deus, sperantem in te.

"Mitte ei, Domine, auxilium de sancto.

"*Resp.* Et de Syon tuere eum.

"Nihil proficiat inimicus in eo.

"*Resp.* Et filius iniquitatis non apponat nocere ei.

"Esto ei, Domine, turris fortitudinis.

"*Resp.* A facie inimici.

Thesaurarius sive subthesaurarius ordinet servientes ad pulsandum.

"Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

"*Resp.* Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

"Dominus vobiscum.

"*Resp.* Et cum spiritu tuo.

"Oremus.

"*Oratio.*

"Concede, quæsumus Domine, famulo tuo .*N.* episcopo nostro, ut prædicando et exercendo quæ recta sunt, exemplo bonorum operum animas suorum instruat subditorum, et æternæ remunerationis mercedem a te piissimo pastore percipiat. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

"*Deinde adducetur per præfatos decanum et præcentorem ad sedem episcopalem, et ibidem per archidiaconum Cantuariensem inthronizabitur vel per commissarium suum, lecta tunc publice commissione, si absens dictus archidiaconus hoc committat, et ipso inthronizato, statim incipiat præcentor hymnum :*

"Te Deum laudamus.

"*Et notandum est quod dicti decanus et præcentor semper . . . . domino episcopo in sede sua prædicta, quousque hymnus* Te Deum laudamus *totaliter percantetur. Quo finito, dicant omnes :*

"Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster.

"*Tunc decanus stans a dextris episcopi, dicat solemniter cum nota, versum :*

"Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera nos.

"Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam.

"Et salutem.

"Salvum fac servum tuum.

"Deus meus, sperantem in te.

"Convertere Domine usquequo.

"Et deprecabilis esto super servum tuum.

"Sit splendor Domini Dei nostri super eum.

"Et opera manuum suarum dirigat.

"Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

"Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

"Dominus vobiscum.

"Et cum spiritu tuo.

"Oremus.

"Deus, omnium fidelium pastor et rector, famulum tuum *N.* quem pastorem huic ecclesiæ tuæ præesse voluisti, propitius respice: da ei, quæsumus, verbo et exemplo quibus præest ita proficere, ut ad vitam una cum grege sibi credito perveniat sempiternam: per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat.

"*Tunc dicat dominus episcopus :*

"Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

"Ex hoc, nunc, et usque in sæculum.

Ordinetur processio per cantorem vel succentorem: prælati obvient ei in medio cœmeterii cum dicta pro-

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"Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

"Qui fecit cœlum et terram.

"Benedictio Dei Patris omnipotentis, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, descendat super vos et maneat semper.

"*Chorus respondeat:* Amen.

"*Data insuper benedictione, præfati decanus et præcentor ipsum episcopum in vestibulum adducent, pro suis pontificalibus ad celebrandum missam induendis: quibus indutis, ut moris est in festis duplicibus, cum quinque diaconis et quinque subdiaconis, tam pro processione tunc facienda si præ multitudine populi fieri poterit, quam pro officio missæ sic peragendo; in qua quidem missa quatuor erunt rectores, cum aliis ministris in festis duplicibus consuetis.*"

In the Bodleian library is an old English translation of this form, which happily enables us to understand what the portions which have been defaced contained.

The first erasure is thus supplied, after "*canonicorum borealem:*" "At which gate the lord deane and the chief chaunter, and in their absence the two best persons of the said church, doe incense or perfume with frankincense the newe bishope, being without his pontifical robes, barefooted and unshod, and the chief of them shall besprinkle the bishop with holy water, and consequently tender him a crosse to kiss. Which being done, they two, to wit the deane and the præcentor, and in their absence the two best persons, shall bring the said bishop between them, the deane on the right hand and the præcentor on the left hand of the bishop, unto the west dore of the said church, the procession on both partes going before singing meanwhile *Resp.* Cives apostolorum."

The other erasure is thus to be understood: "*et præcentor semper* [near to] *domino episcopo,*" &c. Rawlinson MS. B. 167. fol. 110. I take this English version from a book, now in the course of publication, *Fasti ecclesiæ Sarisberiensis,* p. 56, by the Rev. W. H. Jones, canon of Sarum, who has given in the first part a valuable and useful preface.

The Bangor pontifical does not contain this order. In the Winchester and Exeter MSS. there is an entirely different service appointed; and in both it is attached to the office of consecration of a bishop, immediately after the corresponding rubric to that above, "*Quem duo episcopi adducant,*" &c., and without any separate title or heading.

I shall now transcribe this

cessione. Tamen si alius episcopus fuerit, aspergat eum aqua benedicta decanus, et cantor, sive ille qui

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order as it is in the Winchester pontifical, which the Exeter MS. follows almost in every word:—

"*Cum ad sedem episcopii sui consecratus episcopus venerit, priusquam in cathedra ponatur, ab aliquo episcopo cui a metropolitano injunctum fuerit, hæc oratio ante ipsam cathedram dicatur:*

"Deus honorum omnium, Deus omnium dignitatum, quæ gloriæ tuæ sacris famulantur ordinibus, huic famulo tuo .*N.* quem apostolicæ sedis præsulem et primatem sacerdotum, ac ecclesiæ tuæ doctorem dedisti, et ad summi sacerdotii ministerium elegisti, hanc, quæsumus Domine, gratiam largiaris, ut cathedram pontificalem ad regendam ecclesiam tuam, et plebem universam, ascendat. Per.

"*Hic mittatur in cathedram episcopalem: et hæc oratio dicatur:*

"Omnipotens pater, sancte Deus æterne, tu omnem ordinem dignatus es in cœlestibus sedibus ordinare, in cœlo, Domine, in æternum permanet verbum tuum, ubi angelos et archangelos, suo tibi ordine mancipasti; et in veteris testamenti privilegio, Moysen et Aaron in sacerdotibus tuis, et Samuel inter eos qui invocant nomen tuum, patriarchas et prophetas ad consulendum populo tuo ordinasti; et in novo, per Filium tuum, Jesum Christum, apostolos sanctos, et præcipue Petrum apostolum, in cathedram honoris universæ ecclesiæ præposuisti, et Matthiam ejusdem consortem in apostolatum atque cathedram honoris enumerasti, et in numero sanctorum omnium apostolorum evocasti; quæsumus, pro tua immensa misericordia, in nostris temporibus da tuam gratiam fratri nostro .*N* ad instar sanctorum apostolorum tuorum sedentium in cathedra honoris et dignitatis, ut in conspectu majestatis tuæ dignus honore appareat. Per.

"Domine Jesu Christe, tu præelegisti apostolos tuos, ut doctrina sua nobis præessent, tu etiam vice apostolorum hunc episcopum doctrinam docere, et benedicere, et erudire digneris, ut immaculatam vitam et illæsam conservet. Per eundem.

"*Benedictio ejusdem episcopi:*

"Populus te honoret," &c., *ut infra.*

There seems to be but little doubt that these two pontificals contemplate the consecration of the bishop in his own cathedral; in which case the enthronisation would take place at once, and form a part of the great solemnity. Or, according to the uses of those churches in the office of consecration the ceremony still retained in the Roman catholic church might have been in-

est major in choro, cum alio canonico sibi associato, thurificent eum, et osculatis textis interius revertatur processio, junioribus præcedentibus, et sic processionaliter procedant ad ecclesiam, ut in die nativitatis Domini, prælatis ultimis. Episcopus incedat inter duos digniores prælatos, vel prælatis absentibus inter decanum et præcentorem, præcentore sive succentore incipiente responsum, Summæ Trinitati. *Et sic eadem via quoque qua accesserunt, usque ad gradum altaris adducant.*

Et cum venerit ante magnum altare, episcopus inclinet se super sedile, cum quarello substrato tapeto, genuflectendo. Responso percantato cum suo versu a toto choro, sequatur:

Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson. *Sine nota.*

Pater noster.

Deinde super episcopum, cum prosternat se in

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tended: namely, the placing of the new bishop in a "seat" or "throne" either prepared for him, or that in which the consecrating bishop had sat. It may not be improper to extract the rubric on this point from the Roman pontifical, as it illustrates what I have just said.

The rubric after the putting on of the gloves proceeds: "*Tum surgit consecrator, et accipit consecratum per manum dexteram, et primus ex assistentibus episcopis per sinistram, et inthronizant eum, ponendo ipsum ad sedendum in faldistorio, de quo surrexit consecrator: vel, si id fiat in ecclesia propria consecrati, inthronizant eum in sede episcopali consueta, et consecrator tradit ei baculum pastoralem in sinistra.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Rom.*

The pontifical of Egbert includes the enthronisation in the order of consecration: appointing two prayers only:—

"*Modo mittendus est in cathedram episcopalem, et hæc oratio dicenda est:*

"Omnipotens Pater, sancte, &c.

"Domine, Jesu Christe, tu præelegisti," &c., *ut supra.*

This pontifical doubtless supposed the consecration to be in the new bishop's own cathedral.

oratione ad gradum altaris, dicat diaconus, vel qui est major in choro, capa serica indutus:

Et ne nos.

Salvum fac servum tuum, Domine, Deus meus.

Mitte ei Domine auxilium de sancto.

Et de Syon.

Nihil proficiat inimicus in eo.

Et filius.

Esto ei Domine turris fortitudinis.

A facie inimici.

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Oratio.

Concede, quæsumus Domine, famulo tuo *N.* episcopo nostro, ut prædicando et exercendo quæ recta sunt, exemplo bonorum operum animas suorum instruat subditorum, et æternæ remunerationis mercedem a te piissimo pastore percipiat. Per Dominum.

Et osculato altari, dicat episcopus benedictionem stando ante altare conversus ad populum.

Sit nomen.

Adjutorium nostrum.

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus.

Postea admittat prælatos, et decanum, in osculum pacis, cum capitulo. Postea archidiaconus Cantuariensis, vel alius vice sua installet eum, ut mos est; et dum installatur, incipiatur a cantore:

Te Deum laudamus:

et percantetur a choro, episcopo sedente in sede sua: et tunc post Te Deum laudamus, *dicat diaconus istas orationes sequentes, cum,*

Dominus vobiscum:
et, Oremus.
Oratio.

Deus, cui omnis potestas et omnis dignitas famulatur, qui de summo cœlorum fastigio cuncta creata gubernas, da famulo tuo pontifici nostro, quem ad pastoralis honorem cathedræ sublimasti, prosperum suæ dignitatis effectum; fac eum, quæsumus, virtutum titulis præpollentem, illustrante gratia tua, sic morum et meritorum splendore clarescere, ut servus tibi fidelis et prudens his quibus præest proficiens, verbo pariter et exemplo multiplicatum tibi fructum valeat opportuno tempore reportare.

Alia oratio.

Rege eum, quæsumus Domine, dextera cœlestis auxilii et in tua semper protectione conserva, ut te timendo super omnia perfecte diligat, et ab omnibus tuo munimine liberatus adversis, temporalibus non destituatur auxiliis, et sempiternis gaudeat institutis.

Oratio.

Fidelium, Deus, omnium rector et pastor, famulo tuo pontifici nostro quem pastorem ecclesiæ tuæ esse voluisti, tribue cœlestium propitius incrementa carismatum, et ei concede commissum sibi gregem digne et fideliter gubernare, quatenus eosdem pastor bonus ad pascua perennis vitæ deducens, a te bonorum omnium retributore mercedem et regnum sine fine mansurum simul cum illis percipere mereatur.

Per Christum.

Et dicitur sub uno per Christum.

Si aliquis episcopus præsens fuerit, dicat super ipsum istam benedictionem.

Populus te honoret, adjuvet te Deus, quicquid

petieris præstet tibi Dominus, cum honore, cum castitate, cum scientia, cum largitate, cum caritate, cum humilitate: dignus sis, justus sis, sincerus sis, apostolus Christi sis: accipe benedictionem ac apostolatum, qui permanet in die ista, et in die futura: angeli sint ad dexteram tuam et ad sinistram tuam: ecclesia sit mater tua, sit Deus pater tuus, sint angeli amici tui, sint apostoli fratres tui, et apostolatus tui gradum custodiant: confirmet te Deus in justitia, in sanctitate, in ecclesia sancta: angeli recipiant te, et pax tecum inseparabilis: per redemptorem, dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.

Benedictio[2] Dei omnipotentis, Patris ✠, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus ✠ sancti, super te descendat, et maneat semper. Amen.[3]

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[2] This last benediction is omitted in the Exeter pontifical.

[3] Forms of enthronisation are to be found in the registers or ordinals of more than one English cathedral, in the chapter libraries. An order preserved among the manuscripts at Chichester omits all the prayers after the bishop has been installed, concluding thus:—

"*Deinde ducatur et inthronizetur in sede sua episcopali per archidiaconum . . . . quibus adimpletis adeat in palatium suum cum decano et fratribus suis assistentibus.*" MS. E. fol. 14.

I.

De inthronizatione Archiepiscopi,

si pallium a sede apostolica personaliter receperit.

II.

Item de inthronizatione Archi-

episcopi, quando sibi pallium mittitur a sede apostolica per nuncios speciales, et de professione ejusdem.

Officium inthronizationis arch episcopi, si pallium a sede apostolica personaliter receperit.[1]

CONVENTUS a summo mane totum serviti usque ad magnam missam celebrabit.

Cum enim archiepiscopus civitatem ingr sus fuerit, prior et conventus, capis induti, usque

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[1] Both the Bangor and the Exeter pontificals contain this office; and I think the most simple method will be to transcribe the order, as it stands in those manuscripts, referring to the prayers which are to be found also in the text. The reader will thus the better understand the full order as it was in the latter part of the fifteenth century, after various alterations and additions had been made.

First, the Bangor MS.:—

"*In consecratione archiepiscopi quando ipse archiepiscopus defert pallium a sede Romana.*

"Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

"*Oratio.* Deus qui de excelso cœlorum, &c.

"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui cum sis altissimus, &c.

"Omnipotens sempite Deus, qui e summo cœli, &c.

"*In consecratione archiepis [priusquam pallio circumde dicatur ab aliquo?]* episcopo oratio:*

"Domine Deus, Pater om potens, qui sola ineffabili, &c

"*Qua dicta, ponatur ei palli super humeros, dicente episcopo:*

"Accipe pallium, summi cerdotii, &c.

"*Post hæc cum festiva proc sione, ducatur ad altare dom Salvatoris, choro psallente* Firmetur manus tua, *vel re* Dominum time. *Quo finito, catur hæc oratio, cum* Domin vobiscum.

"Nostris, quæsumus Domi officiis clemens adesto, et fam tuo .*N*. archiepiscopo nostro, b nedictionis tuæ gratiam conce quem auctoritate apostolica,

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* The rubric here, and below, is much rubbed and defaced.

portam cœmeterii cum solemni processione eidem occurrant, et accepta aqua benedicta, et archiepiscopo incensato, cruces et textus osculetur.

Deinde prior pallium archiepiscopi de manu clerici illud portantis recipiat, et dictum pallium capellano archiepiscopi revestito, si monachus fuerit Cantuariæ,

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mystico munere sacri pallii induere dignatus es, et ad summum sacerdotium promovere: fac, Domine quæsumus, ut sicut cæteros in ecclesia gradus honore præcellit, ita meritis et virtutibus augeatur. Per.

"*Deinde ducatur ad cathedram pontificalem, et in eam cum honore mittatur. Ubi, eo sedente, decantetur a fratribus sex vel octo stantibus ante solium, modico in eorum medio existente spatio. Quorum una medietas dicat hujus antiphonæ hanc partem:*

"Benedictus Deus, &c.

"*Respondeat altera medietas.*

"*Qua finita, dicatur ab uno episcopo hæc oratio:*

"Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam multiplici munerum tuorum largitate lætificas, concede famulo tuo .N. quem hodierna die apostolicæ dignitatis sublimitate et sacratissimi pallii benedictione confirmasti, virtutum titulis pollere, morum et meritorum gratia clarescere, gregemque sibi creditum digne ac fideliter regere, quatenus cum eo mereatur, devicto sæculo, ad pascua vitæ perennis feliciter pervenire. Per Dominum.

"*His dictis, missa celebretur.*"

In the Exeter pontifical, the order is as follows:—

"*In inthronizatione archiepiscopi antequam pallio circumdetur, dicitur ab uno episcopo:*

"Domine Deus, Pater omnipotens, qui sola ineffabili, &c.

"*Oratione dicta, ponatur ei pallium super humeros, dicente episcopo:*

"Accipe pallium, &c.

"*Post hæc, cum festiva processione, ducatur ad altare, choro psallente antiphonam:* Firmetur manus tua: *vel resp.* Domini est terra: *quo dicto, dicitur hæc oratio, cum* Dominus vobiscum, *et cum* Oremus.

"Nostris, quæsumus Domine, &c.

"*Deinde dicitur a priore:*

"In Dei nomine. Amen. Auctoritate ejusdem, &c.

"*Deinde ducatur ad cathedram pontificalem, et in ea cum honore collocetur, ubi, eo sedente, decantetur alternatim a fratribus coram eo, ant.* Benedictus Deus: *qua finita dicatur:* Oremus.

"Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam, &c.

"*His dictis, celebretur missa cum omni solemnitate.*"

tradat deferendum. Si vero archiepiscopus capellanum de conventu Cantuariæ nondum habuerit, prior tradat hujusmodi pallium alicui seniori monacho Cantuariæ deferendum. Qui in vase argenteo, panno serico albo cooperto, pallium deplicatum, manu erecta, conventu præcedente, coram archiepiscopo et priore ad magnum altare solemniter portabit, et super altare ponet.

Conventus vero in choro manebit, decantans responsorium inceptum; archiepiscopus vero ante magnum altare interim prostratus orabit.

Finito cantu in choro, subjungat prior:

Salvum fac servum.

Deus meus sperantem.

Mitte ei, Domine.

Et de Sion.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Deus Pater, et pastor ecclesiæ triumphantis, famulum tuum, quem pastorem ecclesiæ tuæ militanti præesse voluisti, propitius respice; da ei verbo et exemplo quibus præest ita proficere, ut ad illorum consortium, quorum vicem gerit in terris, una cum grege sibi credito valeat feliciter pervenire. Per Christum.

Finita collecta, archiepiscopus erigat se, et data populo benedictione, cantor incipiat:

Te Deum laudamus.

Interim vero archiepiscopus ad sedem suam ligneam in choro declinabit, pallio super altare remanente.

Finito Te Deum, *prior, deinde singuli fratres per ordinem ad altare accedentes pallium osculentur: deinde archiepiscopum, si tamen archiepiscopus post*

consecrationem suam tunc primo ecclesiam Cantuariæ intraverit.

¶ *His peractis pallium in vestiarium deportetur, et archiepiscopus in cameram suam declinet.*

¶ *Adveniente hora celebrandæ missæ, archiepiscopus solemnibus vestimentis pontificalibus in vestiario indutus, et pallio redimitus, cum priore, tribus diaconis, et tribus subdiaconis cardinalibus, chorum intrabit; presbyteros vero cardinales non habebit, propter pressuram populi circa altare.*

Ad introitum vero chori cantor incipiat resp. Deum time, *quod solemniter chorus decantabit.*

¶ *Interim vero archiepiscopus et prior et prædicti ministri altaris, faciant stationem coram sede marmorea archiepiscopi sub feretro sancti Blasii versa ad orientem.*

Finito responsorio, prior subjungat collectam:

Deus, qui ab excelso cœlorum habitaculo corda fidelium Spiritu sancto corroborando illustras, archipræsulem nostrum quem sanctitatis pallio decorasti, virtutum quoque cœlestium robore confirma, ut ejus exemplo nos et documento iter vitæ cœlestis ingredi, et cum eo regni tui consortes fieri mereamur. Per Dominum. In unitate ejusdem.

Dicta collecta, prior perducat archiepiscopum ad cathedram suam pontificalem, et facta modica statione coram cathedra, prior dicat hanc orationem:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui cum sis altissimus humilis ad nos descendere dignatus es, te suppliciter exoramus, ut fastidio sacerdotii huic famulo tuo a te collato humilitatis dignitate promoveatur, et sicut in ministerio regiminis sui hanc sedem pontificalem ascensurus aggreditur, ita sedem pectoris ejus tuæ inhabitationis visitatione aggrediaris, quatenus

fastigio omnia regnorum gubernacula regis, archipræsuli nostro, dominium hujus cathedræ a te bonorum omnium largitore suscipienti, cœlestium tribue incrementa carismatum, quatenus oves sibi commendatas ita gubernet, ut cum fructu bonorum operum ad regnum sine fine mansurum cum illis, te donante, perveniat. Per Dominum.

Dicta collecta, cantor incipiat solemniter officium missæ de Trinitate. Cantato officio, et Kyrieleyson, *archiepiscopus coram throno, versus ad orientem, incipiat:*

Gloria in excelsis.

Deinde collectam missæ: et lecto evangelio, dicat Credo. *Et post* Credo, Dominus vobiscum *dicet ibidem.*

Cantato offertorio in choro, archiepiscopus de throno suo descendet, et ante magnum altare veniet, et oblationem panis et vini a cantore, prout moris est, recipiet. Et ex tunc totam missam ibidem complebit, nec ad thronum suum illo die redibit.

Missa celebrata, archiepiscopus et omnes episcopi præsentes indulgentias populo concedant, prout eis placebit.

Deinde sacris vestibus in vestiario exutus, archiepiscopus ad cameram suam declinabit, pransurus cum prælatis et proceribus ad solemnitatem hujus invitatis.

Die inthronizationis archiepiscopi quando pallium suum mittitur a sede apostolica per nuncios speciales, ad hoc destinatos, conventus summo mane primam et totum servitium usque ad magnam missam celebrabit.

His peractis, ordinetur solemnis processio in choro, et procedent qui cruces, cereos, thuribula, textus, et alia sanctuaria portant. Deinde sequatur archiepiscopus pontificalibus indutus, nudis pedibus. Deinde prior et conventus capis induti; et procedant omnes obviam pallium portanti, usque ad portam civitatis per quam intrabit, si serenitas temporis hoc permittat.

Ille vero qui pallium defert de sede apostolica, alba et capa chori erit indutus, et pallium in aliquo vase aureo, vel argenteo, inclusum honorifice portabit.

Cum vero pallium portanti occurrerint, revertetur processio, et procedant qui cruces et alia portant. Deinde minores et omnes alii juxta ordinem suum. Et ultimo sequatur archiepiscopus, et post illum pallium portans. Et reversi in chorum, ponatur pallium super magnum altare.

Interim vero archiepiscopus coram magno altari prostratus orabit. Finito vero cantu in choro, surgat episcopus et data benedictione super populum, accedat ad altare, et faciat professionem suam in scriptis sub hac forma:

Ego N. archiepiscopus Cantuariæ ab hora . . . . fidelis et obediens ero[3] . . . .
. . . .
successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, aut capiantur mala captione. Consilium quod mihi credituri sunt, per se, aut per nuntios suos, sive litteras, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nulli pandam. Papatum Romanæ ecclesiæ et regalia sancti Petri adjutor ero, ad defendendum et retinen-

[3] This sentence has been completely erased in the manuscript.

dum, salvo ordine meo, contra omnem hominem. Legatum sedis apostolicæ eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apostolorum limina singulis trienniis, aut per me aut per nuntios meos, visitabo, nisi apostolica absolvar licentia. Possessiones ad mensam mei archiepiscopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignorabo, neque de novo infeodabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta evangelia.

Lecta vero professione, archiepiscopus accipiat pallium in manibus suis, et statim incipiat cantor:

Te Deum.

Interim vero stet archiepiscopus coram altari, tenens pallium plicatum in manu sua, et accedant omnes fratres, a priore incipientes; et osculentur pallium cum reverentia.

Quibus expletis, et lotis pedibus archiepiscopi, præparet se archiepiscopus ad missam celebrandam, et indutus pontificalibus in vestiario, antequam pallio circumdetur, dicatur, ab illo qui pallium detulit a curia Romana si episcopus fuerit, alioquin ab alio episcopo solemniori tunc præsente, hæc oratio:[4]

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[4] The Leofric MS. in the Bodleian contains "*Orationes quæ dicendæ sunt super archiepiscopo, antequam palliam accipiat.*" I place them here on account of the age and value of that manuscript:—

"Deus, omnipotens Pater, qui non propriis suffragantibus meritis, sed sola ineffabili, &c.

"*Alia.*

"Deus, innocentiæ restitutor et amator, dirige hunc famulum tuum, *ill.* spiritus tui fervore, ut in fide inveniatur stabilis, et in operibus tuis efficax. Illumina eum lumine sapientiæ, munda eum et sanctifica, da ei consilium rectum, doctrinam sanctam, ut qui eum inter sum-

Domine Deus, Pater omnipotens, qui sola ineffabili gratiæ tuæ largitate hunc famulum tuum .*N.* populo tuo præesse jussisti: tribue ei, quæsumus, per gratiam sancti Spiritus tui, digne tibi persolvere ministerium officii sacerdotalis, ecclesiasticis convenienter servire sacramentis, plebemque sibi com-

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mos sacerdotes voluisti numerare, concede ut quod humano ore eum voluisti vocari, hoc in conspectu tuo per gratiam tuæ pietatis possit fieri, ut cum electis tuis æternæ vitæ beatitudinem percipere mereatur.

"*Sequitur oratio postquam acceptum fuerit.*

"Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, rex regum et dominus dominantium, clementiam tuam humiliter exoramus necnon et unigeniti Filii tui domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui omnes æterno pontificatu supereminens, solus sine macula sacerdotale ministerium implevit; simulque sancti Spiritus, cujus septiformi gratia cœlesti virtute cuncta sanctificas, ut hunc famulum tuum, *ill.* divinæ providentiæ gratia largiente, a minoribus usque ad majora per gradus ascendentem, supernæ pietatis tuæ gremio gratanter suscipias, et quia nobis indignis, quos sedis apostolicæ summæque ministros servitutis, non exigentibus meritis sed dono clementiæ constituisti, salutaribus indumentis ad sacri altaris officium foras vestitus in præsenti apparet, ab omnibus criminum contagiis castigatus, perpetua spiritus tui sanctificatione intus impleri mereatur, vivique fontis fluentibus irrigatum, virtutum fructibus crescere, et coram omnibus clarescere concedas, ut ejus vita aliis possit exempla præbere. Sit ei honor pallii ornamentum animæ, et unde advenit fastigium visibile, inde florescat amor invisibilis. Tua divina potentia eum corroboret, tui Filii virtus viscera ejus fœcundet, tui Spiritus gratia interiora ejus impleat, per te firmitatem fidei catholicæ, non solum sibimet servandi sed etiam alios docendi causa, conservet. Per te cathedræ episcopalis et ecclesiæ universalis scutum non solum a spiritualibus, sed etiam a corporalibus hujus sæculi adversitatibus, habere mereatur. Per te apostolicæ dignitatis, in cœlis et in terris solvendi et ligandi, non solum corpora sed et animas, divina ditatus gratia, dominium suscipiat; ut ita dignis successibus devote degens, ad destinata sanctis præmia perveniens, æternam accipiat beatitudinem. Per."

missam ad gloriam tui sancti nominis digne gubernare. Per Dominum. In unitate.

Qua dicta, ponatur ei pallium super humeros, dicente episcopo:

Accipe pallium summi sacerdotii domini Dei tui signum, per quod undique vallatus atque munitus, valeas hostis humani tentamentis resistere, et omnes insidias ejus a penetralibus cordis tui, divino munimine fultus, procul abjicere: præstante Domino nostro, Jesu Christo, qui vivit et regnat Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[5]

His peractis, archiepiscopus pontificalibus indutus in vestiario, et pallio redimitus cum tribus diaconis, et tribus subdiaconis, chorum intrabit. Et ex tunc

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[5] Whatever may have been the actual practice of the primate of the English Church during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the office appointed at the reception of the pall did not recognise any other signification of it, in the form at its delivery, than the ancient one of a mark of honour and dignity. But the Roman pontifical now orders as follows; prescribing a form which, although never adopted in old times in England, is to be traced (it is said) to the authority of Innocent III:—

"Ad honorem omnipotentis Dei, et beatæ Mariæ, ... tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum, in quo est plenitudo pontificalis officii, cum patriarchalis *vel* archiepiscopalis nominis appellatione," &c.

According to modern canonists an archbishop or metropolitan, although consecrated, cannot perform any of those duties which are peculiar to or characteristic of his office, until he has received the pall; he cannot consecrate a church (for example) or confer orders. In fact, if he has been previously a bishop and is translated to this higher dignity, the effect is that for a time, until he has obtained his pall, he is suspended: and so far from obtaining at once increased power and authority, even that which he had is taken from him for a season, and, if any difficulties are interposed, it can be regained only after a long delay, and trouble, and expense.

omnia fiant, prout supra notantur, quando archiepiscopus pallium a sede apostolica personaliter recepit.

In quibus diebus[6] *archiepiscopus debet uti pallio, cum celebraverit in sua provincia, videlicet;*

In die nativitatis Domini.

In festo sancti Stephani.

In festo sancti Johannis.

In circumcisione Domini.

In epiphania Domini.

In dominica in ramis palmarum.

In cœna Domini.

Sabbato sancto paschæ.

In die paschæ et in secunda (et) tertia feria.

In ascensione Domini.

In die pentecostes et in secunda et quarta feria sequente.

In nativitate sancti Johannis baptistæ.

In festis omnium apostolorum.

In tribus festis beatæ Mariæ.

In festo omnium sanctorum.

In dedicatione ecclesiarum.

In principalibus festivitatibus ecclesiæ suæ.

In ordinatione clericorum.

In consecratione episcoporum.

In die anniversarii suæ consecrationis.

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[6] In the epistles and briefs of the Roman pontiffs there is a great variety observable, with regard to the days upon which they conceded to different metropolitans the privilege of wearing the pall. Some of these occasions would be "proper" to the church or person in whose favour they were granted; for example, in the present case, the principal feasts of the church of Canterbury, and the anniversary of the archbishop's consecration, or "natal day," as it was sometimes called.

Qualiter processiones fiunt causa venerationis, scilicet ad suscipiendum archiepiscopum, proprium episcopum, legatum vel cardinalem, regem vel reginam.

Ordo ad recipiendum processionaliter praelatum, etc.

FIUNT autem quædam processiones venerationis causa ad suscipiendum archiepiscopum, proprium episcopum, legatum vel cardinalem, regem vel reginam, quæ eodem modo et habitu ordinantur per omnia quo in die nativitatis Domini. Procedunt autem per medium chori et ecclesiæ, per ostium occidentale usque ad locum destinatum, ibique ad personam suscipiendum in processione duæ excellentiores personæ in capis sericis in revertendo suscipiant post thurificationem et aquæ benedictæ aspersionem, cantore incipiente responsorium: videlicet, contra archiepiscopum, proprium episcopum, legatum vel cardinalem, dicatur responsorium:

Summæ Trinitati.

Contra regem dicatur resp.:

Honor virtus.

Contra reginam resp.:

Regnum mundi.

Eadem quoque via qua accesserint, usque ad gradum altaris adducant. Finito responsorio cum suo versu, a toto choro sequatur:

Kyrieleyson. Christeleyson. Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster.

Deinde super archiepiscopum, proprium episcopum, vel legatum, vel cardinalem, cum prosternant se in oratione ad gradum altaris, dicat episcopus in capa serica:

Et ne nos inducas.

Salvum fac servum tuum, Domine.
Mitte ei, Domine, auxilium de sancto.
Nihil proficiat inimicus in eo.
Esto ei, Domine, turris fortitudinis.
Domine exaudi.
Dominus vobiscum.
Oremus.

Concede, quæsumus Domine, famulo tuo metropolitano nostro, *vel* episcopo, *vel* prælato, ut prædicando et exercendo quæ recta sunt, exemplo bonorum operum animas suorum instruat subditorum, et æternæ remunerationis mercedem a te, piissimo pastore, percipiat: per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Super regem, vel reginam, in prostratione ad gradum altaris, dicat episcopus in capa serica:

Et ne nos.
Esto nobis, Domine, turris.
Domine, salvum fac regem, *vel*, ancillam tuam.
Mitte ei Domine.
Nihil proficiat.
Domine, Deus virtutum, converte nos.
Domine exaudi.
Dominus vobiscum.
Oremus.

Deus, in cujus manu corda sunt regum, qui es humilium consolator et fidelium fortitudo, et protector omnium in te sperantium: da regi nostro, et reginæ, populoque Christiano, triumphum virtutis tuæ scienter excolere, ut per te semper reparentur ad veniam. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Benedictiones diversae.

Benedictiones diversae.

I. Vexillorum[1] processionalium, vel militarium, benedictio.[2]

ORATIO.

Inclina, Domine Jesu, salvator omnium et redemptor, aures tuæ pietatis ad preces nostræ humilitatis, et per interventum beati Mi-

[1] These benedictions are taken from the (so-called) Evesham pontifical in the British museum, Lansdown MS. 451.

[2] The following is from a printed form for the use of the reformed church of England, published in 4to., London, 1838; but I am not aware under what authority:—

"Prayers used at the consecration of regimental standards and colours.

"*The Lord's prayer.*

"Our Father, &c.

"Almighty and most merciful Father, our shield and buckler, our protector and preserver, the strength of all that put their trust in thee. With profound reverence and humility, and under a deep sense of our unworthiness, but in an entire dependence upon thy compassion and loving kindness, we prostrate ourselves at thy footstool. 'Justice and Judgment are the habitation of thy seat, and Mercy and Truth go before thy Face.'

"We approach thee, O Father, and pray unto thee for the light of thy countenance upon us: and we beseech thee to incline thine ear unto our petition, and to hearken to the voice of our humble supplications.

"We implore thy blessing upon [*this standard, or these colours, as the case may be*] to be presented, this day, by . . . . . . to . . . . . . and, with all lowliness of mind, and humility of spirit, we now consecrate [*it, or them*] in thy Holy Name, to the cause of Peace and Happiness, Truth and Justice, Religion and Piety.

"We pray that . . . . . . may always be borne by this Regiment as a token and pledge of their duty, fidelity, and honour; of their loyalty and zeal, their

chaelis archangeli tui, omniumque cœlestium virtutum, præsta nobis auxilium dexteræ tuæ, ut sicut benedixisti Abraham adversus quinque reges triumphantem, atque David regem in tui nominis laude triumphales congressus exercentem, ita bene✠dicere et sancti✠ficare digneris hoc vexillum, quod ob defensionem sanctæ ecclesiæ, contra hostilem rabiem defertur, quatenus in nomine tuo fideles et defensores populi tui illud sequentes, per virtutem sanctæ

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fortitude and valour, in the service of our most gracious Queen; and in the maintenance of our Holy Religion, our constitution, and laws: and we beseech thee, O Father, that . . . . . . may be as the ensign and banner of their Christian profession; and that they may put their hope, and trust, and confidence in thee the Lord of Hosts, without whose aid vain is the help of man.

"Finally, we pray that thy servants now before thee, and that all the forces of our Queen, throughout her dominions, for whom we are also bound to offer up prayers and supplications, may follow the example of the devout centurion; who, amidst the tumult of arms, 'feared thee, with all his house;' and may not, at any time, be led aside from the path of duty by the crafty devices of the ungodly; but that in all their words and actions, and in their different ranks and stations, they may continually set thee before them, and bear in mind the solemn injunction, 'to honour all men,' to 'love the brotherhood,' to 'fear God,' and 'honour the Queen.'

"All this we ask through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

"O Almighty God, by whom Kings reign and Princes decree justice, bless, we beseech thee, our most gracious sovereign lady, Queen Victoria, Adelaide the Queen Dowager, and all the Royal Family, with health, prosperity, and happiness; give them length of days, in peace, joy, and honour, here on earth; let thine arm be their protection, and thy wisdom their counsel and guide; and when, by the aid of thy Divine Spirit, they have walked according to thy righteous will, and finished their course in this world, crown them, we beseech thee, with everlasting life and glory in the kingdom of Heaven; we ask all in the name and through the mediation of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

"The Peace of God," &c.

crucis triumphum, et victoriam, se ex hostibus acquisisse lætentur. Per te, Jesu Christe, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Alia oratio.

Domine, Deus omnipotens, cui omnia possibilia sunt et nihil difficile est, bene✠dic vexillum istud, sicut benedixisti serpentem æneum in eremo hasta elevatum, quem quicunque vulneribus sauciati aspexerunt salvabantur, quia unigenitum tuum post longa sæcula cruce elevandum hoc portendebat mysterium; et præsta ut omnes qui illud super se elevari viderint, a quacunque infirmitate et periculo et occursu malo liberentur. Bene✠dic etiam, Domine Deus, vexillum istud, sicut benedixisti dilectum puerum tuum David, cum adversus Philisten in funda et lapide congressus est, et unigeniti tui virtutem, mundo quandoque venturam, suo præmonstravit prælio; adhuc te petimus, omnium dominator Domine, ut bene✠dicas illud, sicut benedixisti fluvium Jordanis, in quo unigenitus tuus descendens, totius mundi maculas abolevit, et per baptismum omnes salvandos esse præostendebat, et quæ petere non presumimus aut quæ petendo impetrare non meremur, tu nobis concede propitius. Per eundem.

II. Benedictio novi sigilli episcopalis.

Vers. Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

Resp. Qui fecit.

Oremus. Benedic, Domine Jesu Christe, istud sigillum, in testimonium veritatis paratum, et concede per intercessionem beatæ Mariæ virginis et matris

tuæ, et sanctorum apostolorum tuorum Petri et Pauli, ut et ipse in cujus officium et usum exercebitur, et qui ejus nomine eodem utentur, sic justitiæ et veritatis regulam teneant, et turpis lucri nemini respuant, ut pro temporali labore perpetuam a te mercedem consequi mereantur. Qui vivis.

Ad degradandum sacerdotes.

Ad restituendum degradatum.

Ad degradandum sacerdotes.[1]

PRIMO dicatur collatio ad terrorem facinoris, pro quo quis est degradandus: deinde episcopo in pontificalibus sedente cum suis ministris, et clero et populo sibi assistente veniat degradandus,

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[1] This form and the epistle which follows are taken from the Exeter pontifical: neither the Salisbury, Bangor, nor Winchester manuscripts have any corresponding office. In the British museum the Cotton MS. Galba, E. iv. (a miscellaneous volume) contains a form of degradation, which I subjoin:—

"*Forma degradandi clericum.*

"In primis criminosus coram diœceseos episcopo, adunato sibi legitimo seu canonico coepiscoporum numero, videlicet vj. episcopis in degradatione presbyteri, et tribus episcopis in degradatione aliorum clericorum, vel secundum modernum ecclesiæ tribus episcopis, si plures haberi nequeant. In degradatione presbyteri præsentetur criminosus, et contra ipsum juxta qualitatem perpetrati criminis, perpetuæ depositionis ab omni officio et beneficio ecclesiastico sententia proferatur, cum decreto degradationis a susceptis ordinibus subsequenter faciendo. Deinde coram prædictis episcopis superpellicio, stola, capa chori, chirothecis, annulo, et mitra indutis, et tenentibus baculos pastorales, depositus vestimentis congruentibus ordini suo indutus, in occidentali ostio ecclesiæ præsentetur. Et si presbyter fuerit, episcopis cum punctis baculorum sublevantibus casulam, dicat diœcesanus; 'Exauctorizamus, exuimus, et degradamus te .N. ab ordine sacerdotali:' ministris totaliter casulam extrahentibus. Postmodum ut prius sublevata stola dicatur; 'Exauctorizamus &c. ab ordine diaconali.' Deinde sublevato manipulo dicatur; 'Exauctorizamus &c. ab ordine subdiaconali.' Deinde sublevatis alba et amictu dicatur; 'Exauctorizamus &c. acolytatus.' Deinde sublevato superpellicio dicatur; 'Exauctorizamus &c. ab ordine psalmistatus.'" Fol. xxix.

Then follow various references to the canon-law; with the usual form of recommendation to the mercy of the secular power, and a statement that according to the above form a priest was degraded

indutus vestibus sacerdotalibus, cum dalmatica, tunica, cum calice, et patena, quam tenet in manibus coram episcopo.

Dicat episcopus:

Auctoritate omnipotentis Dei, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et ecclesiæ nobis commissa, auferimus tibi .N. habitum clericalem, et te ab omni sacerdotali et alio quovis ordine deponimus, et etiam degradamus, et exuimus te omni honore, et habitu, ac tonsura, et privilegio clericali.

In ablatione calicis et patenæ, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi calicem et patenam, teque exuimus et privamus officio et potestate offerendi Deo sacrificium, et missam quamlibet celebrandi.

In remotione casulæ, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi orarium, sive stolam sacerdotalem, cum jugum Domini, suave ab eo repræsentatum, portare contempseris, et stolam innocentiæ observare.

In remotione dalmaticæ, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi dalmaticam, diaconalis officii ornamentum, cum ipsam non portaveris, indumentum lætitiæ, et vestimentum salutis.

In remotione tunicæ, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi tunicam, subdiaconalis officii ornamentum, cum illa usus non fueris, ad justitiam et salutem.

In remotione manipuli, dicat episcopus:

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in London, for forgery, upon the feast of St. Fabian and St. Sebastian in the year 1277, in the presence and by the office of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London, Winchester, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Exeter, Chichester, Llandaff, St. Asaph, and Bangor.

Auferimus tibi manipulum, subdiaconatus officii ornamentum, teque exuimus et privamus ministerio designato in illo.

In remotione calicis et patenæ, urceoli aquæ, manutergii, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi calicem, et patenam, urceolum, aquamanile, manutergium, subdiaconatus officii instrumenta, teque illorum usu exuimus et privamus ministerio designato in illis.

In remotione libri epistolarum, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi librum epistolarum, teque exuimus et privamus officio luminaria in ecclesia Dei accendendi.

In remotione urceoli, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi urceolum, ne de cætero illo utaris ad suggerendum vinum et aquam in eucharistiam sanguinis Christi.

In remotione libri exorcismorum, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi librum exorcismorum, teque privamus et exuimus potestate super energumenos, sive baptizatos, sive catechumenos, manus imponendi.

In remotione codicis, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi codicem, quem cum lectoratus officio suscepisti, teque exuimus et privamus potestate illum legendi in ecclesia sancta Dei.

In remotione clavium, dicat episcopus:

Auferimus tibi claves ecclesiæ, teque exuimus et privamus officio et potestate custodiendi res quæ ipsis clavibus recluduntur, et portas etiam ecclesiæ aperiendi, sive claudendi.

In remotione primæ tonsuræ, dicat:

Auferimus tibi tonsuram et habitum clericalem, et exuimus et privamus te, et degradamus, ab omni honore, beneficio, ac privilegio clericali.

Et si sit tradendus brachio sæculari, dicat episcopus:

Pronunciamus et dicimus nobili viro A. de B. ut te miserum recipiat degradatum, et eum requirimus et rogamus in visceribus Jesu Christi, ut citra mortis periculum et membri mutilationem suam circa te sententiam habeat moderare.

Ad restituendum degradatum.

EPISTOLA cujusdam episcopi ad primatem suum ad restituendum degradatum.

Sancto ac venerabili primati suo L. F. episcoporum humillimus, fidelitatis affectum et obsequium. De presbytero nostro ab alio episcopo pro pecunia ordinato, ex auctoritate sanctorum canonum tale vobis consilium dono: primum degradetur, deinde ab ecclesia separatus duobus annis severa pœnitentia mulctetur, ut honoris gradus quos pretio taxaverat, lachrymis conquerere et reparare contendat. Postea si digne pœnituerit, restauretur. Hoc vero diximus, cum in aliis locis sacris expresse invenietis, in concilio Toletano undecimo capitulo. Cæterum rebaptizationes, et reordinationes canones vetant: propterea depositum non reordinabitis, sed reddetis ei suos gradus per instrumenta et vestimenta, quæ ad ipsos gradus pertinent; ita dicendo: "Reddo tibi gradum ostiarii, etc. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen." Novissime autem benedictione lætificabitis eum, sic concludendo: "Bene-

dictio Patris omnipotentis, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, super te descendat, ut sis confirmatus in ordine sacerdotali, et offeras ei placabiles hostias pro peccatis, atque offensionibus, populi omnipotentis Dei, cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen."

Ordo Excommunicandi.

Ordo Absolvendi.

Ordo ad reconciliandum Apostatam.

Excommunicatio in aliquem sacrilegum ferenda.

DOMINICIS atque apostolicis informati præceptis, judicio Patris, et Filii ejus, domini nostri Jesu Christi, et Spiritus sancti, et auctoritate et potestate apostolis, apostolorumque successoribus a Deo concessa, una nobiscum, prædictum pessimum virum .N. a liminibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ excludimus, et ab omni societate et communione Christiana separamus, separatumque esse in æternum decrevimus, id est, in præsenti sæculo et in futuro. Nullus ei Christianus dicat, ave, aut eum osculari præsumat. Nullus presbyter missam cum eo celebrare audeat, vel sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem Domini tradere. Nemo ei jungatur in consortio, neque in alio negotio. Et si quis ei se sociaverit, et communicaverit ejus operibus malignis, noverit se simili percussum anathemate, hiis exceptis qui ob hanc causam ei junguntur ut eum revocent ab errore, et provocent ad satisfactionem. Et sicut hæ lucernæ de manibus nostris projectæ hodie extinguuntur, sic ejus lucerna in æternum extinguatur, nisi forte resipuerit, et Dei gratia inspirante ad pœnitentiæ remedium conversus fuerit, et digna emendatione ecclesiæ Dei quam læsit humiliter satisfecerit. Fiat. Fiat. Amen.

Absolutio in foro Conscientiae.

IN foro conscientiæ vel confessione sacramentali, hunc modum tenere solebat venerabilis pater Johannes Exon. In primis veniat pœnitens humiliter ad confessorem potestatem habentem et ipse primo dicat:

Benedicite.

Et pœnitens respondeat:

Dominus.

Posteaquam vero confessus fuerit peccata specialia quæcunque tunc recoluerit, cum præmeditatione et discussione sufficienti conscientiæ et propriæ vitæ districta examinatione, si sciat confessionem generalem dicat, scilicet:

Confiteor.

Deinde episcopus dicat:

Misereatur.

Et priusquam absolvat eum a peccatis, ne forte nescienter ligatus sit aliqua sententia excommunicationis, per quam effectus sacramenti pœnitentiæ possit impediri, dicat ad cautelam episcopus.

A sententia excommunicationis, si quam incidisti communicando cum excommunicatis, vel alias ignoranter, absolvo te et restituo sacramentis ecclesiæ. In nomine Patris.

Absolutio.

Dominus Jesus Christus te absolvat, et ego te absolvo, auctoritate Dei et ecclesiæ mihi commissa, ab hiis peccatis et ab aliis confessis vel oblitis. In nomine Patris.

Sequitur benedictio.

Passio Jesu Christi, merita beatæ Mariæ, et omnium sanctorum, et totius ecclesiæ catholicæ, quicquid etiam boni feceris et mali sustinueris pro dilectione Dei et proximi, cedant tibi in remissionem istorum et aliorum peccatorum tuorum, in augmentum gratiæ, et præmium vitæ æternæ. In nomine Patris, et Filii.

Tunc detur pœnitentia conveniens tam personis quam delictis, et specialiter ut caveat ab occasionibus peccandi, et maxime a recidivo.

Ordo ad reconciliandum Apostatam.

Ordo ad reconciliandum apostatam a Judaismo, hæresi, vel gentilitate reversum, vel diu in sententia excommunicationis obstinatum.

PRIMUM consecratur aqua benedicta ab episcopo, et insufflet tertio in faciem ejus ad ostium ecclesiæ, dicens.

Exorcizo te, immunde spiritus, per Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et per Jesum Christum Filium ejus, et Spiritum sanctum, ut recedas ab famulo Dei .N. quem Deus et dominus noster Jesus Christus ab erroribus et deceptionibus tuis liberare, et ad sanctam matrem ecclesiam catholicam atque apostolicam revocare dignatur. Ipse tibi imperat, maledicte, damnate, qui pro salute hominum passus, mortuus, et sepultus, te et omnes vires tuas superavit, atque resurgens cœlos ascendit, indeque venturus est judicare vivos, et mortuos, et sæculum per ignem. Amen.

Tunc aspergens eum aqua benedicta, introducat in ecclesiam, dicens:

Ingredere in templum Dei vivi quod male deseruisti, et exutus ab errore tenebrarum, evasisse te laqueos mortis lætus agnosce.

Resp. Deo gratias.

Sequatur.

Tu autem, omnipotens et misericors Deus, hanc ovem tuam de fauce lupi subtractam clementer suscipe, et gregi tuo benignus reforma, ne de familiæ tuæ damno inimicus exultet, sed de conversione ejus et liberatione, ecclesia tua uti mater de filio perdito et recepto gratuletur. Per Dominum.

Tunc prostrato eo in pavimento ecclesiæ, dicant psalmos.

Miserere mei Deus.

Ps. Benedixisti.

Ps. De profundis.

Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.

Pater noster. Et ne.

Salvum fac servum tuum, Domine.

Mitte ei auxilium.

Nihil proficiat.

Domine exaudi.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Deus, qui hominem ad imaginem tuam conditum, invidia callidi serpentis deceptum, per unigenitum tuum Filium reparasti, respice propitius super hunc famulum tuum .N. qui ab errore ad lumen veritatis quod male deseruerat redire festinat, ut quicquid ejus ignorantiæ necessitate hostili et diaboli fraude surreptum est, abundantia tuæ pietatis indulgeat et absolvat, ut altaribus tuis et gregi tuo, recepta veritatis tuæ luce et communione, reddatur. Per eundem Dominum nostrum.

Oremus.

Da quæsumus, Domine, ut sicut publicani precibus et confessione placatus es, ita et huic famulo tuo .N. placatus existas; et precibus suis benignus aspira, ut in confessione flebili permanens, petitione

perpetua clementiam tuam celeriter exoret, sanctisque altaribus et sacramentis restitutus, reversus cœlesti gloriæ mancipetur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Oremus.

Domine Deus omnipotens, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui dignatus es hunc famulum tuum N. ab errore et mendacio hæreticæ vel dæmoniacæ pravitatis exuere, et ad sanctam matrem ecclesiam revocare; tu, Domine, emitte Spiritum tuum in eum paraclitum, spiritum sapientiæ et intellectus, spiritum consilii et fortitudinis, spiritum scientiæ et pietatis, et adimple eum, Domine, spiritu timoris tui, et consigna eum vel reconsigna eum signo crucis Christi in vitam propitiatus æternam: per eundem. In unitate ejusdem.

Inde elevato eo a terra, interroget eum dicens:

Homo, abrenuncias ritui in quo nunc pœnites te vixisse?

Resp. Abrenuncio.

Et omnibus pompis ejus?

Resp. Abrenuncio.

Et omnibus operibus ejus?

Resp. Abrenuncio.

Abrenuncias etiam omni sectæ et pravitati superstitionis, gentilitatis, hæreticæ, vel judaicæ inimicæ fidei sanctæ catholicæ?

Resp. Abrenuncio.

Hiis expletis, imponat ei modum pœnitentiæ, et communicet eum, et sic deinceps ecclesiæ Dei societur. Primo tamen absolvatur in forma ecclesiæ: Misereatur tui.

Et si hæresim exercuerit vel defenderit, abjuret in forma decretalis, isto modo. Ego N. talis, etc.

Cognoscens veram catholicam et apostolicam fidem, anathematizo omnem hæresim, præcipue eam de qua hactenus defamatus sum, etc.

Consentio autem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ et apostolicæ sedi, et ore et corde eam confiteor, jurans ad hæc sancta Dei evangelica: eos qui contra hanc fidem veniunt, cum dogmatibus et sectatoribus suis æterno anathemate dignos esse pronuncio. Quod si ego aliquando contra hoc aliquid sentire aut prædicare vel docere præsumpsero, canonum severitati subjaceam.

Et si clericus sit, istis lectis subscribat.

Defensorium Directorii ad usum Sarum.

Defensorium Directorii ad usum Sarum.

THE Defensorium directorii is a short tract which follows the Ordinal of the church of Salisbury in the printed editions. I do not suppose that it will be so interesting to many readers as, I trust, much of the other matter which has preceded it in these volumes. But, independently of its extreme rarity, there is not a little which will repay an attentive examination. Allusions to contemporary practice and ritual observances, corrections and explanations of erroneous and doubtful rubrics in the breviary and the missal, the proofs which it affords of the extensive reception in England of the use of Sarum, and the limitations which nevertheless were admitted in churches by which that use had been adopted,—these and much more will furnish, I doubt not, ample reason for those who wish to enquire more exactly into the history of the ancient rituals and services of the Church of England why I have now edited the Defensorium.

The text is taken from the (probably) first edition in the *Ordinale* or *Directorium ad usum Sarum*, printed at Antwerp by Gerard Leeu, 1488, 8vo.; in my possession [1846; now in the British museum]. This agrees, except a few verbal and unimportant variations, with the edition, undated, by Caxton; of which a copy is in the library of the British museum and another in the Bodleian. Pynson

also published the Directorium: but his edition of the Defensorium varies very considerably from both the Antwerp and the Caxton books. This, chiefly, in its omissions; which are very considerable; and moreover he ends with the paragraph "Nam solemnitas paschæ . . sabbato sequente ante missam."

Besides the Defensorium in the editions of the Directorium another tract occurs, which is called the "Crede michi." This is much longer: and although there are also in it many points necessarily of importance, inasmuch as it explains and examines various difficulties in the Ordinal, yet I have not seen in it the like recommendations which the present treatise has. The short title is: "Crede michi. Sequentes articuli ventilati sunt et approbati per canonicos ecclesiæ Sarum."

I cannot say by whom the Defensorium was composed. The author evidently was an excellent ritualist and had most carefully examined the subject of which he treats; he gives his opinions with decision, and there seems little doubt of their correctness. The prologue to the whole volume states that the Ordinal was edited by Clement Maydeston, priest; and the probability is that he wrote the Defensorium.

There is an equal probability that he was the same Clement Maydestone whose history of the martyrdom of Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, is printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*.[1]

At the end of this history is the very remarkable account of the throwing overboard the body of king Henry the fourth into the Thames in a great storm

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[1] Tom. 2. p. 369.

of wind as it was being carried from London to Canterbury for interment, and that immediately there was a calm. Clement Maydestone relates this upon the authority of one of that king's household, who spoke openly of the fact at table during a dinner. Now, of course, if the body of the deceased king was thrown into the Thames the empty coffin must have been buried at Canterbury; or another corpse placed in it for the sake of deception, which does not seem likely. In order to arrive at some certainty in this matter the tomb of Henry the fourth was opened a few years ago; and his coffin was found, within which lay a body in a most wonderful state of preservation; the whole bearing no mark of any violence or attempted deceit. So that we must conclude that Henry was really buried at Canterbury. The account of this examination of the tomb is to be seen in the *Archæologia*, vol. 26. p. 441, but I do not think we are in any way bound to conclude with Dr. Spry (who wrote it, and was a spectator) that Clement Maydestone either repeated what he knew to be false or invented the story. Maydestone states his authority; and that with an asseveration and earnest sincerity which I should be sorry (without some further and good proof against his credibility as a witness) to throw so great a slur upon. I do not see why people, more especially if priests, are so readily to be set down as wilful propagators and inventors of false stories. Maydestone's words are: "Deus omnipotens est testis et judex: quod ego Clemens Maydestone vidi virum illum, et audivi ipsum jurantem patri meo Thomæ Maydestone omnia prædicta fore vera."

As there is ground to believe that this same Cle-

ment Maydestone wrote the Defensorium directorii, I trust that the reader will not think that I have unwarrantably digressed from my proper subject, in order to rescue his memory from an undeserved and gratuitous accusation.

I am indebted to the great kindness of the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, rector of Glaston, for a perusal of his manuscript copy of the Defensorium and the Crede michi. He has made a careful collation of several editions, and I have added (with his permission) three or four notes, attaching to them the signature C. W. Mr. Wordsworth with Mr. Procter is now editing the Sarum breviary of 1531 for the university of Cambridge; of which one portion is already published.

Incipit Defensorium ejusdem Directorii in nomine Domini.

¶ SCIENDUM quod in ordinali Sarum duæ sunt species rubricarum. Quædam sunt rubricæ generales, quæ ponuntur in libris ad instruendum qualiter antiphonæ et responsoria sunt dicenda, et quomodo memoriæ sunt habendæ, et tales rubricas quilibet institutus infra sacros ordines tenetur observare. Sunt aliæ rubricæ cærimoniales, quæ solum obligant clericos ecclesiæ Sarum, et omnes illos qui se sponte obligaverunt ad tales cærimonias custodiendas et non alios, ut inferius latius patebit.

¶ Sciendum est, quod duæ sunt causæ quæ cogunt missam dominicalem ab una dominica in aliam omnino differri: videlicet, prolixitas temporis et eventus assumptionis vel nativitatis beatæ Mariæ, seu dedicationis ecclesiæ in dominica. Prima pars hujus rubricæ est vera, et generalis pro omnibus ecclesiis: quia ibi est vera necessitas quando sunt xxvi. vel xxvii. dominicæ. Sed secunda pars non est generalis, sed cærimonialis vel specialis pro ecclesia Sarum tantum, quia clerici illius ecclesiæ non possunt cantare missam dominicalem infra octavas cum regimine chori, secundum statuta illius ecclesiæ. Ideo ex necessitate oportet ipsos dominicam differre, aliter perderent sex solidos et viii. denarios.

Sed quia talis necessitas non capit nos nec cogit, ideo possumus cum sana conscientia habere memo-

riam de dominica, sub silentio, in die assumptionis beatæ Mariæ vel dedicationis ecclesiæ, sicut in die omnium sanctorum quando cadit in dominica.

¶ Item, illa rubrica quæ loquitur de missis in capitulo dicendis, non est generalis, sed cærimonialis pro illis tantum qui obligaverunt se ad tales missas cantandas. Nam clerici collegiorum Wintoniæ et Oxoniæ qui præstant juramentum ad servandum usum Sarum in horis et missis, nihil curant de missis in capitulo dicendis, sed semper habent missam de requiem æternam pro missa capitulari.

¶ Item, illa rubrica quæ scribitur pro psalmo "Deus venerunt gentes" non est generalis, sed tantum cærimonialis pro ecclesia Sarum. Nam clerici illius ecclesiæ habent pro psalmis illis xl. marcas annuales.

Item illa rubrica[2] quæ scribitur in die sancti Theoderi martyris, quando cadit in iij. feria, non est generalis, sed cærimonialis tantum pro illis ecclesiis quæ non habent festum loci. Nam ubi agitur de festo loci, illa rubrica vacat. Etiam illa rubrica quæ dicit quod in exequiis quotidianis mortuorum prima collecta erit pro episcopis, non est generalis pro omnibus ecclesiis sed solum pro illis quæ habent episcopos fundatores. Nam clerici collegiorum domini regis de vento morbido, et sancti Stephani apud Westmonasterium, et sanctæ Katherinæ juxta turrim Londonensem, in omnibus obsequiis et missis habent primam vel secundam collectam pro regibus et reginis, et nunquam pro episcopis. Et certe quilibet vicarius vel sacerdos parochialis, plus tenetur

[2] This passage down to "quod est expresse contra ordinale" omitted in the edition by Pynson, 1497. [C. W.]

habere collectas primas vel secundas in omnibus exequiis et missis pro suis parochianis defunctis quam pro episcopis Sarum. Et hoc secundum sanam conscientiam est verum. Item illa rubrica quæ scribitur in multis libris, quod in omnibus exequiis mortuorum pro corpore præsenti, et in anniversariis, et trigintalibus, semper erunt quatuor orationes nisi pro rege vel regina vel episcopo, est falsissima. Quia in ordinali scribitur, licet pro rege vel regina. Ecce quomodo illud verbum "nisi" pervertit totum sensum ordinalis, et facit infinitos errare. Item illa rubrica est vitiata et falsa, quæ scribitur in die sancti Sylvestri fere in omnibus libris novellis, qualiter responsoria in festis iij lectionum debeant cantari vel dici. Nam si festum unius confessoris et pontificis in ij feria contigerit, et in iij feria festum unius confessoris et abbatis, in ij festo dicuntur Responsoria de primo nocturno secundum ordinale Sarum. Similiter fiat si festum unius martyris et festum unius abbatis in una ebdomada contigerint, et in omnibus quasi libris scribitur quod in secundo festo dicent responsoria de ij nocturno, quod est expresse contra ordinale. Item illa rubrica est falsa quæ scribitur in multis missalibus, quod in trigintalibus et anniversariis quorumcunque dicetur evangelium "Dixit Martha ad Jesum:" cum secundum ordinale, in omnibus trigintalibus et anniversariis dicetur evangelium secundum ordinem feriarum, nisi in trigintalibus et anniversariis episcoporum tantum.[3]

℄ Item, quotiescunque exequiæ mortuorum, sive

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[3] "Nunquam legatur 'Dixit Martha' nisi quando corpus est præsens, et in missis episcoporum, et in dominicis, et in secundis feriis." *Crede michi.* [C. W.]

solemnes sint sive quotidianæ, dicantur in choro vel extra chorum, toties per totum annum dicetur commendatio, secundum usum Sarum. Nam oratio "Tibi Domine commendamus" nunquam dicitur in choro Sarum, quia post commendationem statim sequitur missa de requiem. Sed prædicta oratio dicitur post commendationes quæ dicuntur extra chorum.

¶ Item, illa rubrica quæ scribitur pro psalmo "Levavi" creditur a multis non esse generalis, sed cærimonialis. Nam in ecclesia cathedrali Wellensi, psalmus "Ad te levavi," et psalmus "Levavi," omnino tacentur nec dicuntur sicut in usu Sarum.

Si dedicatio alicujus ecclesiæ, in aliqua dominica a festo sanctæ Cuthbergæ virginis usque ad festum sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani contigerit, oportet ex necessitate quod dedicatio illius ecclesiæ fiat sine regimine chori, propter tres historias inchoandas et cantandas.

¶ Si commemoratio animarum in dominica contigerit, differatur in secundam feriam secundum usum Sarum. Et in iij feria celebratur festum sanctæ Wenefredæ virginis, et in dominica tota cantetur hystoria, "Vidi Dominum," et memoria tantum de martyribus. Ponitur in multis missalibus missa pro vigilia nativitatis beatæ Mariæ, et in multis rubricis ponitur quod responsorium feriale dicetur in vigilia prædicta, et totum falsum est. Nam festum nativitatis beatæ Mariæ et festum sancti Mathei apostoli non habent vigilias in ecclesia Sarum, sed tantum jejunium.

Multis libris modernis de usu Sarum, quarta antiphona in laudibus in die ascensionis Domini scri-

bitur sic "Exaltare regem regum," et tamen in ordinali scribitur "Exaltate."

¶ Hæc est vera rubrica Sarum. Post octavas paschæ non fiat obsequium mortuorum in conventu nisi corpus præsens fuerit, vel nisi fuerit dies trigintalis aut anniversarium, et nisi servitium triginta dierum fuerit imperfectum. Et alia rubrica sequens dicit, "post octavas paschæ quando inchoetur officium mortuorum, semper a primo nocturno incipiatur." Ecce patet manifeste quod hæc rubrica non loquitur de exequiis quotidianis dicendis in tempore paschali, sed tantum de imperfectione servitii triginta dierum. ¶ Item, illa rubrica est falsa quæ scribitur in novellis missalibus, "Quando corpus est præsens dicitur graduale, Si ambulem," quod nunquam dicetur nisi in missis pro episcopis tantum.

Rubrica illa est abjicienda seu refutanda, quæ ponitur in octavis corporis Christi cum regimine chori: "psalmi feriales ad utrasque vesperas." Nam nunquam fuit in ordinali Sarum inventum aut exemplificatum, quod psalmi feriales dicerentur in octavis alicujus festi nisi prius decantati fuissent in ipso festo. Item: illa rubrica non est vera quæ scribitur sic, "in octavis corporis christi cum regimine chori omnia fiant ut supra," ubi octavæ fiant sine regimine chori. Nam quod dicit omnia fiant apertam continet falsitatem: quia tunc oporteret omnino ad utrumque completorium habere hymnum, "Te lucis," cum antiphona, "Salva nos," cum psalmo, "Ad te levavi:" et credo quod nullus sanæ mentis vult hoc affirmare. Mirabile est valde, quomodo tanta cæcitas contigit in ecclesia Sarum, quæ solebat totius Angliæ esse clara lucerna. Item illa rubrica non est vera, quæ dicit quod sacerdos benedicens

candelas seu palmas stabit versus austrum, cum ordinale Sarum dicat ad orientem. Similiter, dicendo orationes super populum feria iiij cinerum, et in cœna Domini, stabit versus orientem usque ad "Absolvimus vos:" et tunc convertat se ad populum.[4] Quæstio habetur inter multos, qualis hymnus vel versus habendus est ad secundas vesperas in octavis corporis Christi, ubi fiunt cum regimine chori. Ad hanc quæstionem quidam affirmant quod hymnus "Verbum supernum" cum versu "Posuit fines," sicut verba ordinalis videntur sonare, quod omnia fiant sicut in octavis sine regimine chori, præter responsorium. Sed hanc opinionem simplicem et male intellectam venerabiles cardinales ecclesiæ sancti Pauli destruunt, et refutant tanquam erroneam in hæc verba. Si, inquiunt, in octavis corporis Christi omnia fiant, sicut in prima die præter responsorium, ergo de necessitate oportet concedere quod dicitur hymnus "Sacris solemniis" cum versu: "Panem de cœlo," quæ dicebantur ad secundas vesperas in prima die. Et vere istorum assertio censetur fore verissima et ab omnibus observanda: sin autem verba ordinalis non sunt vera, quod dicere est absurdum.

¶ Item, in vigilia epiphaniæ in laudibus semper dicitur capitulum "Apparuit benignitas," secundum ecclesiam Sarum.

¶ Item, in die sancti Quintini ad omnes horas dicitur oratio, "Sancti martyris tui Quintini," et si

[4] "Feria iv in capite jejunii ante missam post septem psalmos et ante antiphonam *Ne reminiscaris*, surgens solus sacerdos cum puero librum sibi ministrante et stante conversus ad orientem (falsi libri habent ad austrum) dicat preces et orationes super populum." *Crede michi.* [C. W.]

dominica fuerit tunc in summa missa dicitur de sancto Quintino oratio "Deus qui ecclesiam tuam," secundum Sarum. ¶ Item, in die sancti Nychomedis martyris in mense Junii ad omnes horas dicitur oratio "Deus qui nos beati Nychomedis," etc. sed ad missam omnes orationes de communi unius martyris dicuntur secundum Sarum.

¶ Item ad memoriam sancti Aniani in die sancti Hugonis ad vesperas et matutinas oratio "Deus qui nos beati Aniani," etc. Sed ad missam dicitur oratio "Deus qui sanctam hujus diei" secundum Sarum. ¶ Item, illa oratio quæ scribitur in diversis missalibus et portiforiis in die sancti Machuti pontificis non est Sarum, sed ista sequens oratio ad omnes horas et in missa est dicenda. Oratio. "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, populi tui preces exaudi, ut intercessione beati Machuti confessoris tui atque pontificis, cujus hodie annuam festivitatem recolimus, cum temporalibus incrementis æternæ prosperitatiscapiamus augmentum. Per Dominum."

¶ Item, quodcunque festum sanctorum infra octavas cum regimine chori contingentium, semper illud festum habebit utrasque vesperas nisi quando in sabbato evenerit: tunc vesperæ erunt de dominica et memoria de festo: nisi tale fuerit festum quod primas vesperas habere non potuit. Et nisi quando tale festum contigerit in sabbato infra octavas ascensionis: tunc vesperæ erunt de festo et memoria de octavis et nihil de dominica.

¶ Si festum omnium sanctorum in dominica contigerit tunc sub silentio fiant duæ memoriæ, scilicet de dominica et de Trinitate, secundum ordinale Sarum. ¶ Similiter in die omnium sanctorum quacunque feria contigerit, vesperæ, matutinæ, et omnes

horæ de sancta Maria dicantur extra chorum cum memoriis consuetis. ℭ Quandocunque per totum annum fit plenum servitium de commemoratione beatæ Mariæ, semper dicantur ad matutinas primæ benedictiones absque ulla variatione. In dominicis semper dicitur missa dominicalis nisi in tempore paschali et nisi festum cum regimine chori impediat: tunc missa dominicalis dicitur in aliqua feria per hebdomadam. Si vero nulla feria vacaverit tunc si aliquid festum iij lectionum in illa hebdomada contigerit totum officium fiat de festo, usque ad missam quæ erit de dominica. Et secunda oratio erit de festo, et hoc per totum annum nisi aliqua dominica differatur.

ℭ Si dedicatio alicujus ecclesiæ a die circumcisionis usque ad octavam diem epiphaniæ inclusive forte contigerit, tunc ad utrasque vesperas dedicationis dicantur antiphonæ " Tecum principium," et cæteræ sequentes cum psalmis eisdem appropriatis. Et cætera omnia fiant de dedicatione præter completorium quod dicetur secundum exigentiam temporis, sive de nativitate, sive de octavis epiphaniæ. Et octavæ dedicationis fiant sine regimine chori usque ad viij diem, et ibi fiant ix lectiones.

ℭ Si aliqua ecclesia consecrata et dedicata fuerit in honore alicujus sancti qui habet octavas sine regimine chori in ecclesia Sarum: ad instar sancti Johannis baptistæ et sancti Martini: tunc in illa ecclesia octavæ illius festi erunt cum regimine chori, et quotidie dicitur completorium sicut in prima die. Et dies viij habebit invitatorium triplex, cum regimine chori et ix lectiones. Item [5] ista rubrica est vera

[5] "Item ista . . cantetur historia" omitted in edit. 1497. [C.W.]

secundum usum Sarum: quando festum sancti Lamberti in dominica contigerit fiant mediæ lectiones de festo. Et tamen ubi agitur de festo loci rubrica non habet locum, quia oportet ex necessitate, ut ibi tota cantetur historia.

¶ Item illa quæ communiter ponitur in missalibus pro missa "Salus populi" cantanda, est generalis pro omnibus ecclesiis, diverso tamen respectu celebranda. Nam clerici ecclesiæ Sarum cantant illam missam pro fratribus et sororibus et benefactoribus illius ecclesiæ. ¶ Item, quilibet sacerdos parochialis tenetur dicere missam illam pro parochianis suis. Et sacerdotes stipendiarii pro amicis et benefactoribus suis, a quibus accipiunt stipendia sua: hoc dico[6] secundum opinionem meam. Et dico assertive et certius est omni certo quod omne collegium totius regni plus tenetur orare et dicere missam illam "Salus populi" pro fratribus et sororibus benefactoribus proprii capituli quam Sarum, seu alicujus alieni. Qui aliter sapit, sapiat: sufficit mihi exonerare conscientiam meam. Item illa duo verba quæ ponuntur in multis festis, sic: *Invitatorium triplex*, nihil oneris imponunt sacerdotibus qui dicunt officium suum sine nota: sed solum pertinent ad illos qui cantant officium cum nota: et obligaverunt se ad custumarium Sarum.

¶ Sequens cantus "Jam lucis orto sidere" nunquam cantatur ad primam alicujus sancti in choro Sarum.

¶ Quando missa dominicalis in die dominica, vel in ij feria cantata fuerit, tunc si iij feria vacaverit

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[6] "Hoc dico . . . ad custumarium Sarum" omitted in edit. 1497. [C. W.]

semper dicatur missa "Salus populi" in ipsa iij feria. Ita tamen quod propriæ epistolæ et evangelia quæ pro feriis intitulantur, propter missam "Salus populi" vel missam "Nos autem gloriari," per totum annum non omittantur.

☾ Quacunque feria per hebdomadam conceptionis vel purificationis beatæ Mariæ festa contigerint, nihilominus fiat plenum servitium de commemoratione ejusdem in alia feria ejusdem hebdomadæ, et hoc in sabbato si fieri potest. Ita tamen quod nulla fiat memoria ad secundas vesperas festi de commemoratione in crastino facienda. ☾ Similiter fiat post octavas assumptionis et nativitatis ejusdem plenum servitium in eadem hebdomada, si fieri poterit. ☾ Ut autem plura brevi sermone concludam. Dico assertive quod illa quæ scribuntur in custumario seu consuetudinario ecclesiæ Sarum, de dignitate festorum, de pluralitate benedictionum, de termino quatuor temporum, de velo quadragesimali, de cereo paschali, de sepulchro habendo, sunt generaliter observanda in omnibus ecclesiis quæ non possunt de congruo omitti. ☾ Cætera vero quæ in illo scribuntur, videlicet de diversitate vestimentorum, de iiij rectoribus chori habendis, de processionibus ad altaria faciendis, de antiphonis in superiori gradu vel inferiori incipiendis, de responsoriis a tribus vel duobus cantandis, de quinque vel quatuor pulsationibus ad vesperas, solummodo pertinent ad clericos ecclesiæ Sarum, et ad omnes qui voto vel juramento se obligaverunt ad talia perficienda. Probatur[7] ista assertio esse vera per venerabiles viros ac patres canonicos ecclesiæ sancti Pauli Londonensis, qui totum

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[7] "Probatur ista . . . usitatas" omitted in edit. 1497. [C.W.]

officium divinum in cantando et legendo observant secundum usum Sarum ecclesiæ. Sed de cærimoniis vel observationibus ejusdem nihil curantes: sed custodiunt antiquas observantias in ecclesia sancti Pauli a primordio illic usitatas.

¶ In die pentecostes et per hebdomadam infra canonem missæ hæc est vera litera. "In primis gloriosæ semper virginis Mariæ genitricis Dei, et Domini nostri Jesu Christi." Plures libri habent "ejusdem Dei," et sic est ibi error secundum quosdam. ¶ Infra septuagesimam dicitur sic sequentia, si contingat "Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus" die ista.

¶ In omnibus exsequiis mortuorum in secundo nocturno dicitur versus "In memoria æterna erit justus," non dicitur "erunt justi," in illo loco. ¶ Item in iij lectione mortuorum legatur sic: "et in pulverem deduces me," non "reduces me."[8] ¶ In v. lectione mortuorum legatur sic: "Recede paululum ab eo," non dicatur ergo "secede." ¶ Item in viii lectione mortuorum legatur sic: "vel certe sculpantur in silice," non dicatur "celte."[9] ¶ In ix lectione mortuorum legatur sic: "Dimitte me ut plangam paululum," non dicatur ergo, "neque Domine" secundum usum Sarum. ¶ In die purificationis beatæ Mariæ in epistola, et in capitulo, ad utrasque vesperas et ad matutinas, legatur sic: "Ecce ego mitto angelum

[8] "'Reduces,' however, is the reading of the Chevallon breviary of 1531." [C. W.] We must remember that the object of the *Defensorium* and of the *Crede michi* was the correction of such errors.

[9] "Nevertheless the interesting word *celte* was retained in the Sarum breviary of 1531, as it still is in the modern editions of the vulgate, Job xix. 24, and in the modern Roman offices of the dead." [C. W.]

meum qui preparabit viam ante faciem meam," non "tuam." ℭ Item in secundo sabbato quadragesimæ in epistola legatur sic: "Auditis Esau sermonibus patris infremuit clamore magno," non dicatur "irriguit" neque "irrugiit." ℭ Item in epistola, et ad horas unius doctoris dicitur sic: "Et in sono eorum dulces fecit modos," non "modulos" secundum Sarum. ℭ Item in festis sanctorum Edwardi, Benedicti, Leonardi, Egidii, et hujusmodi in sequentia dicitur sic: "Ave inclite præsul Edwarde." Nunquam enim dicitur "Ave inclyte confessor" in ecclesia Sarum. ℭ In festis sanctarum Agnetis, Agathæ, et Katherinæ, dicitur capitulum: "Confitebor tibi Domine rex." ℭ In festo sanctæ Agnetis secundo dicitur capitulum "Domine Deus meus." ℭ In festo sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ ad horam ix dicitur versus: "Adducentur regi virgines" secundum ordinale expresse. ℭ In secundo hymno Mariæ Magdalenæ dicitur sic: "Intus plena vero die nescit ubi veritas," secundum Sarum. Multi libri habent: "nescit nisi veritas" et falsa est litera. ℭ Item in octavis apostolorum Petri et Pauli dicitur oratio sic: "Deus cujus dextra beatum Petrum ambulantem," etc. non dicatur "apostolum" secundum Sarum. ℭ Item in die epiphaniæ dicitur "Benedicamus Domino" cum cantu. Versus "Balaan" qui est septimus versus sequentiæ illius diei, secundum ordinale expresse. ℭ Item quando extra quadragesimam dicuntur vigiliæ mortuorum ferialiter cum tribus lectionibus, tunc extra conventum singillatim et privatim dicatur commendatio.

ℭ Item in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et in commemoratione sancti Pauli, in laudibus dicatur sequens cantus: "Exultet cœlum laudibus."

¶ In omnibus festis duplicibus in xl. contingentibus, pulsetur ad completorium una vice tantum. ¶ Et in vigilia paschæ pulsetur ad completorium, cum duabus campanis bina vice. Male scribunt scribentes dominica in octavis paschæ, quia dies paschæ et dies pent. non habent octavum diem secundum rationale divinorum. Nam solennitas paschæ incipit in sabbato sancto ad "Gloria in excelsis," et finitur sabbato sequente ante missam.

¶ Pro declaratione[10] dicendorum notandum in primis, quod in primordio usus Sarum usque ad tempora moderna, commemorationes sanctæ Mariæ et festi loci, non habebantur infra adventum Domini et septuagesimam: veritas hujus assertionis patet in omnibus libris antiquis: ubi omni sabbato antiphona super "Benedictus" habet suum "euouæ," id est "sæculorum amen," usque hodie annotatum: quod frustra fieret si commemoratio ibi fuisset. Patet etiam veritas per exemplum. Nam a prima fundatione ecclesiæ Eboracensis usque ad tempora magistri Johannis Kempe Eboracensis archiepiscopi et cardinalis Angliæ: in illa ecclesia nulla commemoratio agebatur infra adventum et septuagesimam. Ipse enim erat primus archiepiscopus qui illas commemorationes infra provinciam suam prædictis temporibus instituit, sicut testatur magister Thomas Gascoyne doctor illius provinciæ devotissimus. Quando illæ commemorationes non agebantur, tunc omnes feriæ per adventum et septuagesimam habuerunt suas lectiones cum propriis titulis merito annotatis. Quia vero duæ commemorationes nunc

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[10] "From hence to the end is omitted in edit. 1497. The Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde of 1495 contain it." [C. W.]

habendæ sunt, non est necesse ut tanta pluralitas fiat lectionum scribendarum.

℄ Jam sequitur quæstio, qualiter vel quomodo omnes lectiones de biblia extractæ sunt legendæ. Pro ista quæstione solvenda primo ponenda sunt nuda verba ordinalis Sarum, de verbo in verbum, tam pro adventu quam pro "Deus omnium:" et postea de similibus simile erit judicium.

℄ Rubrica de adventu. "Per totum ad entum legantur lectiones de prophetia ysaye quando de temporali agitur:" nec majus nec minus scribitur, nisi in secundo et iij nocturno dominicis diebus: et nisi in .iiij. et .vj. feriis, et sabbato iiij. temporum.

℄ Rubrica pro historia "Deus omnium:" "Hac die dominica incipiatur liber regum, et legatur usque ad primam dominicam prius quinto kl. Augusti:" nec majus nec minus habetur in ordinali Sarum, quando de temporali agitur. In legenda Sarum pro dominicis et feriis per adventum ponuntur .lxvj. lectiones. Et pro dominicis et feriis historiæ "Deus omnium," ponuntur centum et .xxxvj. lectiones. Cum revera pro tota illa historia sufficerent lectiones .lxxx. quia impossibile est quod durante illa historia fiat septies servitium de feria. Quæsitum est ergo a clericis in usu Sarum expertissimis et fide dignis, qualiter et quomodo et quo ordine lectiones de temporali per totum annum sunt legendæ. Et responderunt in scriptis, quod omnes lectiones habent legi secundum titulationem feriarum et dominicarum per totum annum: videlicet, quod in secunda dominica legantur lectiones de eadem dominica: et in iiij dominica legantur lectiones de iiij dominica. Et sic saltando omittendæ sunt omnes intermediæ lectiones, sive de dominica iij, sive de feriis ejusdem

tertiæ dominicæ. Sed quod prædicta responsio sit erronea atque stulta, patet per ipsum ordinale per omnes rubricas in prima quarta feria adventus annotatas in hæc verba. "Si aliquod festum sanctorum in aliquam prædictarum feriarum contigerit, de quo fieri debeat servitium seu aliqua memoria facta fuerit in eisdem: deinceps non servetur ordo feriarum in lectionibus legendis, et versiculis et responsoriis cantandis in feriis subsequentibus, sed servetur ordo versuum et lectionum." Ecce quam manifeste ordinale dicit quod lectiones debentur secundum ordinem legi, et non secundum titulationem feriarum. Quod autem lectiones de temporali per totum annum debent legi per ordinem patet palam per verba ordinalis prius posita, quæ nullam faciunt mentionem de titulis dominicarum neque feriarum. Confirmatur hæc assertio esse vera per hoc maxime, quod quælibet prima dominica tantum omnium historiarum per totum annum habet titulum expressum suæ inchoationis, sic: "Verba ysaie filii Amos:" vel sic: "Fuit vir in ramatha:" vel sic: "Vir erat in terra Hus." Cæteræ vero dominicæ mediæ ejusdem historiæ nullum habent titulum. Excepta sola historia, "Domine ne in ira." Ergo necesse videtur et congruum ut omnes lectiones cujuslibet historiæ legantur per ordinem et non per saltum. Si quis faceret unam novam legendam de usu Sarum, modo quando duæ commemorationes communiter habentur, et aliquando tres: et scribi faceret pro historia "Deus omnium" centum xxxvj lectiones pro dominicis et feriis, merito fatuus diceretur: cum absque dubio .lxx. lectiones sufficerent ad plenum pro historia illa, secundum verba ordinalis prædicta et secundum veram experientiam. Nam audeo

affirmare quod in legenda Sarum in diversis historiis ponuntur ducentæ lectiones quæ nunquam fuerunt lectæ, nec in futurum erunt legendæ in ecclesia Sarum.

¶ Conclusio finalis.

Omnibus præmissis sagaciter et diligenter pensatis, consultius et melius fere dignoscitur sequi verba ipsius ordinalis, legendo per totum annum omnes lectiones de biblia extractas secundum ordinem lectionum, non secundum titulos et rubricas dominicarum seu feriarum neque per saltum. Quis vero fuerit qui distinctiones lectionum et titulos earum, vel qua auctoritate fecerit, usque hodie ignoratur. Melius est enim tenere certum quam sequi incertum. Hoc etiam dico cum affirmatione, quod in omnibus feriis et festis .iij. lect. sine regimine chori per totum annum ad vesperas et matutinas de die, post memoriam de sancta Maria, habenda est etiam memoria de festo loci. Et istam opinionem sequitur dominus Johannes Goode, cardinalis sancti Pauli Londonensis. Et capella sive ecclesia sancti Martini de graunde. Cum fuerint xxij dominicæ, et litera dominicalis .c. quære istam rubricam post " Deus omnium," et ibi invenies quod missa dominicalis debet cantari in festis trium lectionum.

Explicit Defensorium directorii.